20¢ NOVEMBER 14, 1949

New Republic

A PROGRESS REPORT

What Congress did and did not do, with a chart showing the votes of every member of the House and Senate on 15 crucial issues

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Record Speaks

Too often we Americans take refuge in the comfortable thought that "the record speaks for itself."

The voice of the record is the voice we Americans give it. It will either speak loud and clear so that all men may hear or it will whisper in hushed tones and only a few will hear.

It is the aim of the CIO-PAC to help the record speak. It is our conviction that unless the citizens of our country know the record and speak up they will be doing less than their duty as citizens.

Every citizen should know the record of his representative for that representative is part of each one of us, expressing our hopes and desires and acting in our interest or —thwarting those hopes and desires and acting in the interests of selfish groups.

Have you been represented well or badly? Did your representative and senator vote for you or against you?

Here is the record. It is up to all of us to make it speak.

And once it has spoken it is up to us to do something about it. As citizens it is up to us to lend support to the groups to which we belong so that all may know the record of our democracy and so that all may be prepared to act at election time.

We can each of us register and vote. We can each of us urge our neighbors and friends to register and vote. We can work within the groups to which we belong—unions, civic groups, women's groups, farm groups—to insure the fullest participation by every citizen in the political life of our communities, state and nation.

MAKE THE RECORD SHOUT IN 1950!

CIO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

1346 CONNECTICUT AVE., N. W. WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Republic

CONTENTS FOR NOV. 14, 1949

5 The Purge in the CIO: An Editorial
7 The Week:
7 Hoffman's High Card
7 Justice of a Sort
8 Herblock Cartoon
8 A $90 Million Defect
9 Steel and Coal
9 Outside America
11 A&P's Psychological Warfare by Jean Begeman
13 Holy Year—A Show of Force by Percy Winner
16 Harold L. Ickes
17 Special Section on Congress:
17 A Progress Report
18 The Coalition Takes Charge
20 Standoff with the Lobbies
21 The Fair Deal Advances
23 Unfinished Business
25 Senate Voting Chart
27 House Voting Chart
32 The Future of the Fair Deal
33 Books
36 Music
37 Movies

EDITOR: Michael Straight

EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven

PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane

MANAGING EDITOR: Jack Weeks

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Harold L. Ickes, Joseph P. Lash, Max Lerner, James R. Newman, Gus Tyler

FOREIGN AFFAIRS EDITOR: Percy Winner

WASHINGTON BUREAU: Helen Fuller (Political Editor), Jean Begeman

DEPARTMENTS: Robert Hatch (Chief), Cecil Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio and Televison), Harold Clurman (Theatre), Lincoln Kirstein (Fine Arts)

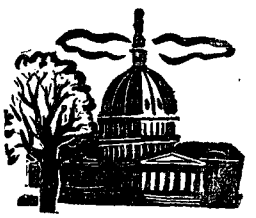
COPY EDITING: Elizabeth Huling (Chief), Ruth Tarcov

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1949, IN THE U. S. A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY 20¢; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, $6.50; CANADA AND FOREIGN, $7.50. PRINTED IN THE U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

WE GOT OUT OF TOWN for a while last week and communed with ourself in hotel rooms. Out of Washington we are always struck by the absence of trees on downtown city streets; we are so used to the amenity in the Capital it is a shock to discover the brutal starkness of most American cities.

Another thing that strikes us like a blow is the gap between editorial-page thinking and the outlook of the average American. Of course this is old stuff and perhaps doesn't need to be emphasized. But it always gets us. For four Presidential campaigns, the editors have looked one way, the voters the other. And the gap is as wide today as it ever was. The whole current of modern life is toward what you might call New Dealism and the editors are just as flabbergasted by it and alarmed by it as ever. We used to think this kind of editorial vacuum couldn't go on. Now it begins to look as though it were here to stay.



The resignation of GOP treasurer Kemper last week illustrates this gap as it applies to the Republican Party. The astonishing thing is not Kemper's resignation, but that he ever held the job. The GOP has lost four elections and still Kempers and quasi-Kempers control the party. Kemper has a caveman mind that thinks British socialism and Soviet Communism interchangeable. He couldn't raise money for the party, he reported, because the GOP fat cats opposed the bipartisan foreign policy. Kemper singled out the foreign-policy issue. It might as well have been social welfare and economics. Week after week the conservative journals of vast circulation, like *Life*, the *Saturday Evening Post* and the *Reader's Digest*, proclaim the horrors of the welfare state, echoed by city newspapers, and week after week the great mass of the American public continues to pay no attention, and progress continues. We would like to feel that this is because they all read the *New Republic*.

We looked in on the CIO convention at Cleveland. The convention was big, but it was lost in that vast, cavernous municipal auditorium where we remember Hoover being nominated amid synthetic enthusiasm in '32. The expulsion of the left-wingers changes the center of balance in the US labor movement. The placid, plodding AFL has 8,000,000 enrolled; we doubt if the new CIO has 4,000,000 dues-paying members. And yet the punch and the drive come chiefly from the CIO. It has been the dynamic force. When it split off in 1935 at Atlantic City it had fewer than 1,000,000; the AFL, 4,000,000. In the commotion it stirred up, the latter has doubled, the former quadrupled. And with the left-wing incubus removed, the CIO may push forward again.

The CIO would like to see Murray D. Lincoln, farm-coöperative leader of Columbus, run against Taft. He is a tall, lean, bald, folksy figure whose voice sounds like an overdone radio imitation of a down-east Yankee; it turns out he *is* a down-east Yankee. Lincoln is quite a figure. He is president of the Coöperative League of the USA, runs three insurance companies and is as international and liberal as Taft is nationalistic and conservative. What fascinated us was Lincoln's style of delivery.

He had a prepared speech for the convention which he used as a kind of point of departure. He took a detached, impersonal attitude toward his speech and gave us bulletins from it. He would say, "Now my speech says here—," followed by extemporaneous comments. "I will now skip four or five pages," he remarked, ruffling over them. "Here," he observed reflectively, "I say some nice things about your or-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ganization, but I guess I'll leave them out." This technique is difficult to master, but effective. Lincoln accompanied it by homely mannerisms like mopping his brow, wiping his glasses, blowing his nose, fixing his collar and pulling up his pants. He wowed the convention. As somebody near us remarked, "You could never put a stuffed shirt under that face."

We are going to miss those full-page US Steel ads telling us how silly the steel strike was. They stopped suddenly when Bethlehem signed up with the union. They must have cost stockowners millions. We can imagine the incredulous joy with which editors of New York's left-wing *Daily Compass* discovered they were to have one. It occupied two tabloid pages. Why US Steel didn't do the handsome thing and include the *Daily Worker* we can't imagine.

We kept wishing at the CIO convention that a lot of people could see who is defending Americanism and democracy today against left-wing gibes. There were representatives of Negro unions, for example. Anybody who thinks the new Communist drive among Negroes isn't effective doesn't know what is going on. Are these humble CIO and AFL Negro leaders or the patriotic Southerners who insist on Jim Crow laws the real bulwark against Communist infiltration?

We confess, also, to a partiality for broken-nosed Joe Curran of the maritime union. After a flirtation with Moscow he has found out about life. Curran is about as tough a looking baby as we ever met. His language is profane and direct. He might not fit into nice society. He is hardly the person who would curl up in the evening with a good book. But we thought some of his explosive answers to left-wing dialectic as good as we ever heard. Are tough labor leaders like Curran and Baldanzi and Reuther and Murray doing more to preserve Americanism, or are the GOP Kempers and US Steel executives who reject fact-finding boards' awards?

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Annapolis v. West Point

SIR: The dispute among the Armed Services, now raging so fiercely, has been especially notable for the bitterness displayed, at all levels, between the Army and Navy. It is a well-known fact that this bitterness existed during the Second World War—to say nothing of earlier times—and that it impeded the success of our arms, lengthened the war and cost many American lives.

It is worthwhile to find, if we can, the causes for this rivalry between the sister services. No doubt these causes are numerous and complicated, but I should like to mention one which I have never seen publicly discussed.

It is a fact that lower-class men at West Point and Annapolis are subjected to extremely severe hazing. They are forced to perform all sorts of menial and degrading tasks for the upper-class men, and sometimes this is accompanied by real physical suffering, as when the Annapolis student is required to "sit on infinity," *i. e.*, assume a painful and difficult posture and hold it indefinitely.

The general idea behind this hazing is to try to break the weakling before he has become an officer, so that he won't break in the midst of battle (partly, of course, it arises out of the generalized sadism common to early manhood in our own and some other civilizations). The severe treatment of all the students by the faculty and administrative officers is also based vaguely on the idea that if your education is something of an ordeal, you will afterward be a better man and a better officer.

This whole theory is a dubious one with which few competent psychologists would probably agree. It has one immediate undesirable consequence; after such a painful ordeal of initiation, the man who successfully survives his novitiate comes to put an exaggerated value on the branch of the service to which he happens to belong. Graduates of the Naval Academy will do almost anything to advance a fellow graduate; during the war, as thousands of men can testify, they formed a tight ring to keep down the naval officer who was not an Annapolis man; and the same thing was true of West Pointers in the Army. This spirit lies behind the resistance to unification, which is so evident today and constitutes so great a danger to our national security.

It seems clear that with unification, it would be logical to abolish Annapolis and West Point as such. Students should be accepted at each of them for all three services, and should have at least a year of studies in common. Thereafter, they should have separate instruction only in the details where such instruction is absolutely necessary—and these are fewer than is generally supposed.

Des Moines, Ia. HARRISON HADLEY

Dewey Issue

SIR: I wish to congratulate you on the high level of the contributions to the Dewey issue (the *NR*, October 17). I was especially pleased by Ralph Barton Perry's appraisal, but it is hard to single out any one contribution.

DONALD A. PIATT, Chairman,
Department of Philosophy,
The University of California

Los Angeles, Calif.

The "Impossible" Russians

SIR: The popular prejudice these days is that it is impossible to get along with the Russians and that any relations with them are doomed from the start. This shibboleth is all right if you change "impossible" to read "very difficult" and say that our relations with them are bound to be troubled and perhaps in some cases hopeless.

How much this attitude of defeatism and hostility has infected the minds of the men who have represented us at points of friction with the Russians is unconsciously revealed by Brigadier General Frank Howley, former American Commandant in Berlin, in a current *Collier's* series called "My Four-Year War with the Reds."

In the first installment of his ghost-written story, General Howley relates a harrowing incident which evidently colored all of his subsequent relations with our one-time allies. Pursuant to his orders to proceed to Berlin, he set out with a force of men and vehicles approximately twice as large as had been agreed upon by his superiors and high Russian authority. An unpleasant incident followed, which resulted in his being required to live up to the agreement and which, along with some other things, caused him to conclude that the Russians were "our enemies who have simply granted us an armistice." He stated this conviction to his staff. It can be presumed that some of his subordinates entered upon their duties in Berlin holding the same conviction.

Is it too much to hope that some day, somehow, the United States Government will decide that its foreign relations are a permanent responsibility and should be entrusted only to men of emotional stability, understanding and a nice regard for their obligation to live up to the letter of agreements?

Philadelphia, Pa. JOHN SUTHERLAND

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 121, NUMBER 20, ISSUE 1824, NEW YORK CITY, NOVEMBER 14, 1949 **New Republic**

THE PURGE IN THE CIO

THE EXPULSION of the Communist leadership from the CIO at its convention was an admission of weakness rather than an assertion of strength. It set a dangerous precedent. Yet it was inevitable and necessary.

The Communist Party within the CIO has worked to advance the objectives of the USSR, whose basic purposes are in conflict with those of the CIO. It has fought with its traditional weapons of slander and character assassination. It has refused to accept the majority will of the CIO as it always refuses, and must refuse, to accept the responsibilities and disciplines that accompany membership in any organization outside its own. As a result many unorganized workers have been turned against the CIO and the CIO has been turned against itself. A great deal of CIO energy has been drained in internal struggles. Its efforts to organize the unorganized have lagged. Its Southern organizing drive has largely failed. Forces larger than the Communist Party—notably the Taft-Hartley Act—have caused these setbacks. Yet the CIO, with a total membership that is far less than 6.5 million, is losing out to independent and AFL unions which are not weakened by internal dissension of a continuous and basic character.

No organization formed to fight for well-defined objectives can long contain within itself a second organization dedicated to opposing ends. If this were the only problem in the CIO there would be no danger that the expulsion of the Communists might lead to a chain reaction against other minorities.

Yet, unlike a political association which thrives on tolerance, a trade union, formed to apply maximum pressure against centers of corporate power, possesses an inherent drive toward concentration of authority. The danger is always that the concentration of authority will advance too far. Then the leadership becomes an unrepresentative clique, self-serving and self-perpetuating. The membership loses the means of replacing its leaders for incompetence or corruption or abuse of power or failure to voice the majority will.

Craft unionism perpetuated oligarchy within the labor movement. As a protest against its abuses and its indifference to the majority of unskilled workers, the industrial unionism of the CIO was born. The CIO unions also needed a concentration of authority to match the centralized power of industrial monopolies. The CIO itself, as a militant movement of political, social and economic reform, required a higher common denominator of conformity than the easygoing hierarchy of the AFL. Yet the CIO thrived on the clash and challenge of conflicting opinions.

Now, at the same time that the level of required conformity in the CIO is rising, the concentration of authority is increasing. A tremendous centralization of power is held in Philip Murray's hands. CIO unions, founded in the mine workers' tradition, have eliminated political opposition largely by strong-arm methods. Even the UAW executive board has assumed the power to try and to expel union heretics. In early days the leadership of the CIO unions changed hands many times. But each time in the last five struggles for CIO union leadership, the group in control has been able to retain power. Many of the 37 district directors of the steel workers are inferior to the best leadership in the union. Yet only half a dozen have been replaced in union elections since the war.

The right to challenge and debate each decision leads to anarchy in a union. But the right to criticize the leadership and to disagree with it, preparatory to changing it, is basic. Here, the expulsion of the Communists may lead to greater dangers. The criticism by the Communist Party since the war has been altogether destructive. Its disagreements have been part of its general warfare on democracy. Yet criticism, however destructive, and disagreement, however far-fetched, are needed. In expelling the Communist-led unions the CIO granted to its executive board the right to determine CIO policy on non-trade-union matters and to expel its affiliates for nonconformity. In curbing the rights of the Communists the CIO is in danger of moving down the road that leads to oligarchy.

Apart from the towering personality of Murray, whose patience and tolerance finally gave way to fury at Communist disloyalty, two main forces within the CIO combined to rid it of Communist influence. Their reasons for wanting conformity in the CIO are in profound contrast.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The first group are the militant Social Democrats represented by the leaders of the textile and auto workers' unions. Their opposition to Communism derives from years of active struggle in which countless Socialists have been shot and imprisoned by Communist governments. On issue after issue, in political action they oppose the position of the Communist Party. They see the CIO as a militant movement for political and social reform which one day will lead a coalition of farmers and workers to power. They know that while Communist participation may compromise the trade-union activities of the CIO, it must destroy the objectives in political action. For this group, the elimination of the Communists is the means to a more active political program for the CIO.

A second group within the CIO are represented, broadly, by the United Steelworkers. Their hatred of Communist ambitions in the CIO does not arise from an equal passion to place the whole weight of the CIO behind the Atlantic Pact, or electoral reform, or federal aid to education. They deeply distrust the political ambitions of "the Socialists." They place their faith in collective bargaining plus a few friendly sheriffs and bank managers in the steel towns, and Congressmen who will vote to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act. The Communist Party abuses the religion of many of them, exposes them to attacks in local newspapers and places them at a disadvantage with the AFL. It organizes a shrewd, tenacious and troublesome opposition; and opposition makes the life of a union official much harder. The steel workers include extremely active and ambitious men. But basically they sense that elimination of the Communists may be a first step to inaction rather than action on the political responsibilities of the labor movement.

Without the cementing hatred of the Communist Party, the underlying conflict of these two approaches is likely to come to the fore. If the first group proves to be predominant, then it must determine how far it will carry the test of political conformity when it conflicts, for example, with the program of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. If, in accordance with the ultimate tendency of most human organizations to become conservative as they grow older, the second group predominates, then those who look to the CIO to lead in the fight for national planning, for world peace, for civil rights and for a return to tolerance will have to look elsewhere.

This, of course, is the danger stressed by the 10 remaining left-wing unions of the CIO.

In an impassioned warning to the convention of the dangers of conformity, Ben Gold, Communist president of the Fur and Leather Workers' Union, conceded the right of the executive board to determine the trade-union policies of its affiliates, but denied its right to dictate their political stands. He summoned Murray as a witness on the Communist side. Murray, in his address to the CIO convention three years earlier, had said:

> We have our divisions of opinion. . . . That is mighty healthy. If we were all united in the sense that we had one opinion on every subject I imagine that we might become a little rusty. That is of course what happened to our ancient friendly enemies in the other house of labor. Their thinking has become corroded, their seats are leaden. . . .

In three days of debate no one really answered Gold. The answer is only partially given in Murray's annual report:

> There is inherent disagreement among our unions and I regard it as healthy—but this type of disagreement among unions lends itself to settlement and conciliation because the organizations involved recognize their common function in the CIO and recognize the need and desirability of an effective central organization.
>
> Our policy represents the compromise among unions of democratic spirit and effective action. The settlement of disagreements in our ranks is continuous and praiseworthy and the absence of such disputes would be an indication of an unhealthy condition.

All this is true. At Cleveland the CIO was dealing with a condition and not a theory, a present danger and not a future threat. Because there is a clear break between the Communists and the non-Communist Left which most American workers are able to recognize, the immediate dangers of compulsory conformity are not great. But because in the CIO there are other cohesive groups with external loyalties, the threat remains.

The CIO's immediate problem is to regain its membership. There were six unions in the CIO with membership of more than 100,000, as opposed to 21 in the AFL; now there are five. The CIO may lose a million members. Some of them, such as the Longshoremen of the West Coast, it will lose for good. Others it will have to fight to win back. Few of the officials named to lead the new electrical workers' union, for example, are capable of directing a drive that will wrest the industry from Emspak, Matles and Fitzgerald. The expulsion of the Communists coincides with the certification of the Steelworkers under Taft-Hartley. And if the Communists put on a real organizing drive with a third labor federation, they may produce the same burst of new life in the CIO that the CIO once breathed into the AFL, enabling it to more than re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

place its losses within two and a half years. It seems more likely, however, that the additional million dollars voted this year in dues will fill the pockets of lawyers in endless court battles instead of financing drives to organize the 2.5 million office workers, the seven million distributive workers, the growing thousands of industrial workers in the South, who remain without union protection.

The second task for the new predominant forces in the CIO will be to reach agreement on its purpose and its future. Its new program, drafted by the UAW staff, is a first-rate compilation of existing liberal aims. Yet these aims offer no continuing security for the worker in our economy, one that is kept afloat by arms expenditures and by the tail end of the New Deal. The CIO, now that it has fenced itself in by common objectives, needs to determine what those objectives are. What are its goals in social security, in national planning, in government ownership? The next convention of the CIO will be the real test.

THE WEEK

HOFFMAN'S HIGH CARD

Economic Coöperation Administrator Paul Hoffman has played his highest card in Europe. Months of private meetings and behind-closed-doors threats have produced little actual progress of Europe's Ministers toward creation of the "single European market" that ECA believes is essential to further economic progress for the Marshall Plan nations. Hoffman's October 30 address to the Council of Economic Coöperation was the beginning of a last desperate effort to force the Western European governments to integrate their economies. Unless they understand "the urgency of starting immediately on this program of integration," Hoffman made it clear, the European nations should be prepared for the opposition of the people and the Congress of the United States to continuing ERP even through 1952.

Hoffman and his ECA staff have rightly concluded that the only attainable insurance against rapid economic deterioration in Western Europe after the end of Marshall Plan aid is "the development of large-scale, low-cost production industries . . . in a permanent, freely-trading area, comprising 270,000,000 consumers." Plans had already been made to allocate dollar aid to the individual nations in two installments this coming year, with the second payment on "a merit basis" to encourage fuller coöperation. In using the last and heaviest threat at his command to try to scare Europe into doing its part to attain that objective, Hoffman is clearly at his wits' end in the struggle to make the Marshall Plan a success. By publicly raising the possibility of American repudiation of its commitments to Europe through 1952, he may have given a fatal opening to Congressmen bent on killing ERP after this year.

JUSTICE OF A SORT

It is a rare pleasure in this year of the witches to record that something resembling justice has been done in at least one case of defamation-by-committee. Melvin Rader, professor of Philosophy at the University of Washington, whose name was recklessly injected into a legislative investigation of the university's faculty last year, has now been officially exonerated of Communist affiliation by Washington's president, Raymond Allen.

Lovers of fair play will rejoice in this decision and try to forget that since July, 1948, Professor and Mrs. Rader have had to endure a painful amount of suspicion and probably a good deal of cruel snubbing, and that their children have been subjected to the bitterest social dose of all, the gibes of the schoolyard.

At the legal witch-hunt mastered by the deplorable Albert F. Canwell, then a Washington State Representative, Professor Rader was "identified" as having attended a Communist Party school at Kingston, New York, in the summer of 1938. The fingering was performed by George Hewitt, a New York Communist who had gone straight. Credible evidence was introduced to show that Rader was not at the CP school at the time stated but vacationing in his own home state, roughly 3,000 miles away, and that, furthermore, he had never been in New York in his life. Witness Hewitt promptly left town and efforts to extradite him under suspicion of perjury were effectively frustrated by Judge Aaron J. Levy, of the Bronx County Supreme Court, who wondered aloud "what the civilization of that area [Washington State] is" and expressed the fear that to return Hewitt to the scene of his testimony would be sending him to "eventual slaughter."

The outcome of the extradition proceedings did not satisfy Superior Judge Lloyd Shorett, then prosecuting attorney in Seattle, Prosecutor Charles O. Carroll, University President Allen, or the conservative Seattle *Times*. An investigation was continued and Rader's denial of any connection with the Communists was finally substantiated.

The ending is not quite perfect, however. Hewitt so far has been spared the consequences of his irresponsible action. Ex-Representative Canwell, not the least embarrassed, says he is going to run for that great deliberative body, the US Senate. In his ambition he claims the support of Senator Harry Cain. Announcing his candidacy, he said:

"Harry and me know how to deal with these birds."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BECK BEATEN AT BOEING

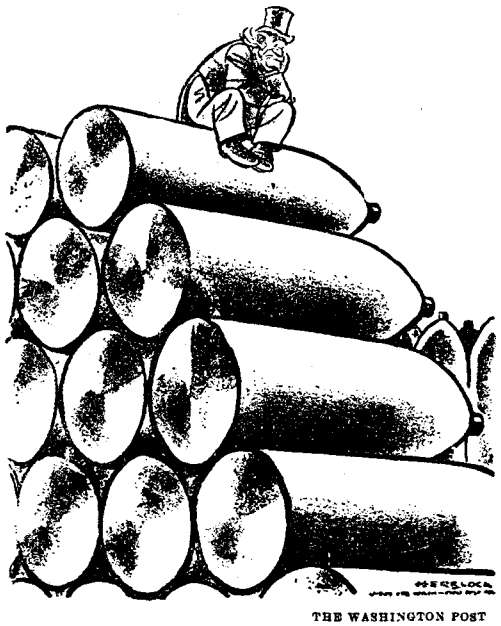
SEATTLE (NR correspondent)

Last year Dave Beck and his AFL Teamsters' Union broke the strike of 15,000 members of the International Association of Machinists at the Boeing Airplane Company in Seattle, Washington, by sending men through picket lines and organizing strikebreakers. Last week Beck and his strikebreakers were soundly beaten in a National Labor Relations Board secret-ballot election. The IAM received 8,107 votes, the Teamsters 4,127. An additional 2,132 votes, challenged by the Teamsters, were also counted for the Machinists in the end.

The election came after 20 months of unrest at Boeing. On April 20, 1948, some 250 shop stewards and the officers of Lodge 751, Aero-Mechanics Division of the IAM, decided that further negotiations with Boeing over wages would be useless. At that time union leader Harold J. Gibson said defiantly, "We'll strike until all hell freezes over." Dave Beck moved in to break the strike, hoping that the Teamsters could get jurisdiction over Boeing and bring its 15,000 dues-paying members into his own camp.

Beck's tactics backfired. The IAM used the year to strengthen its forces. Several nights before the final election, an IAM rally attracted 6,500 Boeing workers; the Teamsters, in a rival meeting, could muster only 600, despite the fact that AFL President William Green and the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer* threw their weight behind Beck.

When the fight was over, Machinists' President Al Hayes interpreted the outcome: "The American workers have proved again that they loathe scabbing and strikebreaking—more especially when it is done in the name of a labor organization. This is a tremendous victory for the entire labor movement. It preserves the basic and fundamental principle upon which unions are built."



THE WASHINGTON POST

"Now to figure a way to avoid using them."

EQUAL EDUCATION

Seven out of 10 college teachers in the South favor immediate admission of Negro students on a non-segregated basis to graduate and professional schools, according to a survey conducted by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. The Conference, headed by Aubrey Williams, polled 3,375 administrative officials and faculty members of 181 accredited colleges and universities in Southern and border states.

The ballot gave voters four choices: schools without segregation; schools with segregation; new graduate schools for Negroes; regional graduate schools with segregation. In only two states was the vote less than 50 percent for the immediate end of segregation—Mississippi, 39 percent; Alabama, 49 percent.

Recent months have produced some encouraging advances in the elimination of discrimination in education in the South. The *Southern Patriot,* the Educational Fund's monthly news letter, reports that this year, for the first time, Negroes attended summer sessions of the University of Oklahoma, the University of Kentucky, and Oklahoma A&M. A second Negro has been admitted by the University of Arkansas medical school. The University of Texas medical school enrolled its first Negro student this fall.

A $90 MILLION DEFECT

The life-insurance companies, which through a defect in our tax laws have legally evaded taxes on about $4.5 billion of net earnings on investments during the past three years, have reluctantly agreed to give Uncle Sam his share. Some $90 million in back taxes is involved, according to the House Ways and Means Subcommittee which has completed a week of hearings behind closed doors. More important, however, is the fact that the agreement cannot be carried out until the tax laws are changed.

Under an unrealistic tax formula enacted in 1942 over the protests of the New Deal administration, insurance companies were required to pay corporate taxes on only seven percent of their investment income. With the decline in interest rates in recent years, the formula worked out so that the companies, wealthy as they are, have paid no tax at all on investment incomes, instead of paying from $30 to $40 million in taxes each year. Representative Walter A. Lynch (D, N. Y.), who headed the investigating committee, has promised that Congress next year will work out a new tax formula, bitterly opposed by insurance companies, based on the "average experience of the business" rather than on the "fixed interest rate" provided in the present law.

The insurance lobby is fully occupied between sessions of Congress. Two other committees have scheduled investigations into various aspects of the business:

¶ The House Judiciary Subcommittee on Monopoly Power, headed by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Representative Emanuel Celler (D, N. Y.), will hear witnesses from the big firms the last three days of November. Celler charges that there is excessive concentration of investment funds in insurance companies (see the *NR*, April 11, 1949). Last year life-insurance assets (the funds used for lending) totaled $55 billion and, it has been estimated, will exceed $100 billion in the next 10 years—more than the total value of all stock listed on the Stock Exchange, which last year came to $70 billion. Witnesses scheduled to appear include: Carrol M. Shanks, president of the Prudential Insurance Company of America; William Montgomery, president of Acacia Mutual Life, of Washington, D. C., and F. D. Russell of Security Mutual Life, of Binghamton, New York.

¶ A subcommittee of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report will hold a comprehensive investigation into the sources of funds of life-insurance companies and the use of the funds for investments. Representatives from finance, large and small business, economists, as well as insurance spokesmen, are scheduled to appear December 8 and 9.

STEEL AND COAL

The five-week-old lockout in steel appears likely to be settled soon on terms which amount to a historic victory for Philip Murray and the CIO. If the agreement with Bethlehem sets the general pattern of settlement, as Murray is demanding, his union will have achieved something new for American labor: an industry guarantee of flat monthly pensions. Most private pension schemes in the past, even that won by John L. Lewis for his Mine Workers, have been 50-50 plans, to be financed from a percentage set aside from hourly earnings, with consequent fluctuation in the amount of benefits the individual worker could expect to receive. Those of the 77,000 employees of Bethlehem who reach the age of 65 during the five-year period of this contract, having served the company for 25 years, will receive minimum pensions of $100 per month, including federal old-age pensions. The difference between the federal pension and $100 is to be paid entirely by the company, regardless of what happens to wage rates between now and then.

Under the Bethlehem plan, employees and the company will also pay 2.5 cents per hour into a separate social-insurance fund for death, accident, sickness and hospitalization expenses. Instead of paying out six cents per hour per worker for pensions and four cents more for a social security program, as the President's Fact Finding Board recommended that the steel companies should do, Bethlehem will contribute 12 cents for pensions alone under the new contract.

Jones and Laughlin, Republic and, finally, US Steel are expected to admit very shortly that Murray has won and sign up on the Bethlehem terms. But sizable as these pension gains are, they cannot be an adequate substitute for a strong federal system of social security, covering the millions of workers employed outside of our heavy industries.

The end of the steel strike will almost surely create a new crisis for John L. Lewis. Although most of the major steel producers still have ample coal supplies on hand with which to resume operation, the seven-week-old strike by Lewis' 380,000 mine workers is already creating emergencies in homes and public institutions throughout the Middle West, where coal supplies have dwindled to a dangerous low. The President cannot be expected to remain out of the coal situation for either the moral or political reasons that dictated against government intervention in the steel dispute. Truman owes no such debt to Lewis as he did to Murray; the Mine Workers' maneuverings entitle them to no such consideration as the Steelworkers earned by postponing their walkout for 77 days at Truman's request. Unless Lewis moves into active negotiation with the coal operators very shortly, federal intervention and invocation of the Taft-Hartley 80-day-injunction provision can be expected.

OUTSIDE AMERICA

Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm II named himself the Protector of Islam. So did Benito Mussolini. Then came Adolf Hitler in the same role. And now it is the turn of another good and great friend of Christian democracy, a person whom no less an authority than James J. Murphy, Democratic Representative from New York, finds a "very, very lovely and lovable character." The description is so apt that many men in the Pentagon Building and on Capitol Hill, not usually susceptible to winning charm, will have little difficulty in recognizing the successor of Wilhelm, Mussolini and Hitler in the role of Protector of Islam as Francisco Franco.

Franco, who proclaims himself the heir of Iberia's Catholic kings, is now coming forward as the arbiter between those sworn Islamic enemies, King Abdullah of Jordan and King Farouk of Egypt. In the furtherance of this new self-given responsibility he has broken a tradition that bound Spanish chiefs of state since Boabdil, the Moor, yielded to the Cid, the champion of Christianity: he has opened the doors of the Alhambra to Moslem sovereigns. The Falangist newspaper *Arriba* has given a presumably official explanation of the Caudillo's purpose:

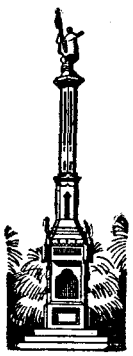
> Two peoples, the Arab and the Spanish, are almost the only ones which now preserve the notions of hierarchy and divine and human order. May it please God that these two peoples and their chiefs be strong enough to unite all men of good will and come to the aid of that humanity which today has neither a roof nor light.

The "almost" lets in still another people—the Portuguese—as Franco's visit to those other good and great friends of Christian democracy, Marshal Carmona and Professor Salazar,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

confirms. And to prove that the Caudillo can make as well as break tradition, there is the fact that his only other visits outside of Spain since he came to power were to meet two previous Protectors of Islam. He met Hitler at Hendaye in October, 1940, and Mussolini in Bordighera in February, 1941.

The communiqué issued on the occasion of Abdullah's visit to Franco said that the Spanish chief of state and the Hashemite ruler of Jordan discussed principally "the threat of Communism in the Middle East" and that "they came to an agreement on means of increasing their coöperation in the international domain in order to safeguard peace." The communiqué also said that Abdullah was pleased by the "praiseworthy intentions which inspire the Spanish attitude in Morocco."



When Senator Robert Taft says that "Spain is in a key position as far as Europe is concerned" and wants the American government to "proceed at once" to better relations with Franco, he may not quite realize just how many key positions, and in how many places outside Europe, Franco is trying to get. The "peace" to which the Madrid communiqué referred is not really in the Cold War between the USSR and the West as it shapes up in the Middle East, nor has it much to do with ideology or order—divine or human.

Abdullah happens to be London's man in the Middle East. At the moment, Farouk is Washington's. The conflict is a commercial and economic contest between Britain and the United States, largely about oil. Perhaps Senator Taft knows this quite well. But if he thinks that paying Franco in advance will necessarily get the oil of the Middle East (and the uranium of the Pyrenees) for the United States, he is being a bit naïve about the blackmail tactics of the various Protectors of Islam. Appeasement simply does not pay off with political masters of the *double jeu.*

Spain's "praiseworthy intentions in Morocco" happen to be activities which suggest that while Franco is courting and winning the Murphys and the Tafts, he is also playing charming games with the British. On Abdullah's request, the Spaniards set free the agitator Abd el Khalek Torres and members of his group who had been in prison in Morocco. Almost at the same time Major Serrano, chief of the Spanish secret services in Morocco, was arrested, and Colonel Bermejo Lopez, governor general of Spanish West Africa, was dismissed from his post. The agitator had come into favor. The Spanish officers had opposed the setting up of Spanish Morocco as an "independent principality" under the rule of a son of Abdullah.

Such a "state" would fit into the new African projects of the British Colonial Office by which Cyrenaica is also to be a "free" state in a group of Moslem entities under the control of London. With a son of Abdullah as its ruler, it would also help the British scheme to make Abdullah the key figure in the Middle East as the head of a "Greater Syria." (See "Outside America," September 19).

Franco's Spain may be, as Taft thinks, in a key position in Europe, but it also seems to have the means, thanks to the Tafts and Murphys, of picking the locks of some of America's economic back doors.

★

Marshal Tito is another good and great friend of Christian democracy whom many men of the West are now finding "lovely and lovable." American generals, politicians and businessmen are yielding to his charms. The New York *Times* says that he "encourages a more moderate, a more European form of the Communist technique"—a statement which anyone who has been in the Turko-Balkan political wilds of Yugoslavia may find on a par with Taft's confidence in Franco's reliability.

The French leftist writer Jean Cassou, curator of the Paris Museum of Modern Art, a man once described by André Malraux as having his feet in Russia and his head in Europe, recently made a speech in Sarajevo (where World War I began). "Tito," he said, "is one of the monuments of the human conscience. Here in Yugoslavia I have the feeling of being a witness of one of the most important events of contemporary history—an event of universal significance that affects all free men." The British leftist Konni Zilliacus has made statements less flowery but not less favorable.

Intellectuals, artists, writers, mostly men of the far Left, are lining up in France and England alongside the Americans of the Right who love Tito, on the theory that there are now two kinds of Communists, the bad Muscovites and the good Belgravians. But a warning comes from a Frenchman of the liberal Right. In *Le Monde* of Paris, Jean-Jacques Servan Schreiber writes:

> With the evolution of Europe toward the political Right and of Stalinism toward Russian imperialism, one can foresee the development of a new national-Communism or national-Socialism (they mean the same) proletarian ideology which will rally a growing number of so-called Socialists and Communists now in the opposition. The force of penetration of such a new movement might well be more formidable than that of the present Stalinist parties. It would be revolutionary but national—hence its enemies would not be able to invoke American help against it. . . . And after all, is not Tito proof that national-Communism is accepted in the Atlantic world? . . .
>
> Thus the future of Titoism is not where one expected it to be. It is in the West. In Hungary they shoot men tempted by Tito; in the West they encourage them—or almost. In order to give dollars to Tito (which is necessary) one feels the need to explain that he is not as brutal as one thought. Just as one wants to pass off the government of Athens (and soon that of Madrid) as democratic; and the government of Ankara as European. Thus one endlessly builds up confusion. . . .

And the London *Economist* asks, "Can any unbiased observer look at the Western nations today and believe that they possess both the secret of stability and a genuine world strategy for countering Communism?"

PERCY WINNER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE: A&P BRAND

by Jean Begeman

THE Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company has declared a propaganda war against the anti-trust laws of the United States.

In 1946 the US District Court of Danville, Illinois, found the A&P guilty of violating the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. This year the A&P paid maximum fines totaling $175,000 in that criminal suit. A civil action, filed September 15 of this year by the Justice Department and now pending in the US District Court for the Southern District of New York, however, has been made the subject of a multi-million-dollar campaign.

Now, through insidious and misleading advertising, the A&P is trying to make customers believe that it is big because they, the American people, have made it big. The government and the courts, however, have found that the A&P's bigness is due not to its popularity or to efficiency and enterprise but to the "predatory application of its mass purchasing power" and abuse of that power through boycotts, blacklisting, preferential rebates, price wars, and below-cost retailing in selected areas.

The A&P has poured an estimated $5 million into its campaign, running full-page ads in daily newspapers across the nation and in most of the important American weeklies. The windows and walls of A&P stores throughout the country are plastered with copies of these ads, blown up to poster size. Housewives, shopping in the 6,000 A&P markets, come home to find that tearsheets, telling the A&P's story, have been stuffed into their grocery bags.

The A&P, in its propaganda, has charged that the government wants to put it out of business, that the suit was filed against it because it is selling food at low prices, that this unjustified attack will raise food prices, penalize efficiency, and destroy the A&P along with every other efficient chain store in the country. Virtually all of the newspapers in the Scripps-Howard, Hearst and Gannett chains followed up the ads with editorials in support of the A&P. But when Attorney General J. Howard McGrath and his assistant, Herbert A. Bergson, criticized the A&P's ad campaign, few newspapers gave them more than a paragraph—hardly enough to offset the damage done or to convince housewives that the anti-trust laws are for their own protection.

The A&P cunningly suggests that a small clique of "anti-trust lawyers from Washington" have trumped up the government's case. The ads contain no mention that the present civil suit is based upon the same acts that were involved in the earlier criminal conviction unanimously affirmed by the Illinois Court of Appeals. A typical deception is found in the A&P ad which reads: "They say . . . and these are the anti-trust lawyers' own words . . . that 'we have regularly undersold competing retailers'." The "anti-trust lawyers' own words" were taken from this paragraph of the complaint:

> Defendants, by coercing and receiving unlawful buying preferences, have become enabled to and have *regularly undersold*, regularly taken patronage away from, and sometimes eliminated *competing retailers* who have bought in substantial compliance with applicable Federal laws prohibiting the sale of merchandise on discriminatory terms.

It is not the policy of the Department of Justice to try pending cases in public. But the *suppressio veri, suggestio falsi* aspect of the ads designed to deceive the American public has forced the Anti-Trust Division to try to tell the public the other side of the story. Fortunately, much of the litigation against the A&P which began in 1942 is a matter of court record.

The Great A&P, the Justice Department points out, is more than a retail business. It has supply and manufacturing organizations that range from "fishing and canning operations in the Pacific Northwest to fabulous coffee operations in Brazil. . . . Running down the alphabet, the foods processed in those plants begin with baking powder and beans and end with tea and vinegar." In the criminal case the court found that the A&P abused its ownership of these organizations by using them illegally as weapons in its scheme to boycott and to blacklist in order to obtain secret preferential rebates. These rebates took many different forms. The A&P collected advertising allowances for which no advertising service was ever rendered; it charged the manufacturers a rental for the floor and shelf space in A&P stores; it demanded quantity discounts which admittedly reflected no cost saving to the manufacturer. The records show that one canning company contributed $175,000 a year for "advertising" allowances alone. The A&P received a rebate of $322,682 from the Ralston-Purina Company in a little more than two years by threatening to manufacture bran and corn flakes in competition with Ralston. In the years 1939 through 1941 alone, these rebates collected by the A&P totaled $20.5 million.

> Whatever the system used or by whatever name designated [the Court of Appeals decision reads] A&P always wound up with a buying-price advantage. This advantage

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

given A&P by the supplier was, it is fairly inferable, not "twice blessed" like the quality of mercy that "droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven." It did not bless "him that gives and him that takes." Only A&P was blessed, and the supplier had to make his profit out of his other customers at higher prices, which were passed on to the competition A&P met in the retail field.

Such abuses have been partly responsible for an increase in A&P gross sales from $330 million in 1925 to $1,909 million in 1947. The A&P's sales for 1947 amounted to 43.14 percent of the total sales of the five largest grocery chains and 6.4 percent of all US grocery-store sales.

Under the guise of being the farmer's friend, the A&P purchases fruits and farm produce in the same discriminatory way. It buys produce through the Atlantic Commission Company, a wholly-owned subsidiary incorporated in 1926. Acco, as it is known throughout the trade, appears in the market in multiple, inconsistent roles. It acts as selling agent for the farmer at the same time that it is buying agent for the A&P. By its fiduciary obligations, it is required to sell for the shipper at the highest possible price and to buy for the A&P at the lowest possible price.

"Employed and paid to serve many masters, but actually faithful only to A&P, Acco was able to obtain for A&P preferential prices and also to collect brokerage from the trade which went into A&P's coffers," Bergson points out. The court referred to Acco as a "rotten thread" running through the fabric of the A&P's produce-buying operations.

The Court of Appeals, which included Judge Minton, now a Supreme Court Justice, said:

> The inevitable consequence of this whole business pattern is to create a chain reaction of ever-increasing selling volume and ever-increasing requirements and hence purchasing power for A&P, and for its competitors hardships not produced by competitive forces, and, conceivably, ultimate extinction.

The 1946 criminal trial revealed that the A&P deliberately set out to expand its retail sales at the expense of its competitors by conducting ruinous price wars and by other coercive, predatory conduct. The A&P's prices to the consumers, the Justice Department has charged, are not uniform. In some areas it takes planned losses which it recoups through higher prices in other non-competitive areas. In 1939, as in every year, A&P executives decided to increase sales by 15 percent—$133 million—to a total of $1 billion. It was decided that the New England division should lose $785,280 and the Atlantic division lose $567,100. It was planned that prices in the other five divisions would be set high enough to make up for these losses. And so in that year five divisions subsidized two other divisions by $2,237,000 worth of mark-ups. "Such deliberate operations in the red to eliminate competition," said Bergson, "are one of the oldest types of violation of the anti-trust laws dating back to the time of the old Standard Oil trust."

Representative Wright Patman (D, Tex.), who has served as the guardian for small business in Congress, has pointed out that since the A&P makes one tax return, every loss in every store is deductible. The government is indirectly permitting the use of funds that should go into the Treasury for the purpose of destroying independent merchants. Patman has introduced a bill which would prevent the A&P and other big national chains from getting such tax advantage.

Attorney General McGrath, speaking before the Connecticut State Bar Association recently, declared that:

> The successful prosecution of the pending civil suit—contrary to A&P's misleading advertising—will not increase but should decrease grocery prices. It will reduce prices in those A&P stores which must now maintain a sufficient profit to pay for the losses sustained in planned price wars by other A&P stores. It will decrease the cost of food to A&P competitors who were forced to pay higher prices to producers and suppliers to finance A&P.

The government's suit asks: that the 6,000 A&P stores be separated into seven chains (the same seven division chains which the A&P recognizes for administrative purposes); that the Atlantic Commission Company be dissolved; that the A&P's manufacturing and processing operations be divorced from its retail operations. Centralized control of all of the A&P's policies is now vested technically with the seven divisional presidents who meet quarterly with John and George Hartford, owners of 99.97 percent of A&P stock, to discuss policy matters. By making the seven divisions independent, the buying power could not be massed to coerce suppliers to grant preferential rebates to the A&P and would prevent the manipulation of one division in order to knock out competition in another.

There is little doubt that the A&P's latest attempts to mislead consumers by its advertisements are the handy work of Carl Byoir and his Business Organization, Inc., or of men connected with them. Byoir and his associates were defendants in the criminal litigation, charged with having conducted the publicity campaigns through which the A&P sought to camouflage its monopolistic practices. "Byoir is no babe in the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

woods, likely not to understand what goes on around him," said the Court of Appeals. "Not only did he understand, but under the contract of his corporate puppet with A&P it was his duty to counsel, guide, and direct the policy-making officers of his client." Byoir and his corporation were found guilty and fined $15,000.

Thus far the press has not mentioned that the A&P is actually a Justice Department test case in the grocery-store field. When the courts found Byoir and the A&P guilty, two other large chains indicted for systematic discriminatory buying preference over competitors, as well as other charges, paid maximum fines. Kroger Grocery and Baking Company, Inc., a wholly-owned subsidiary, and two of its officers paid fines totaling $20,000; Safeway Stores, Inc., two of its subsidiaries, and three of its officers paid fines totaling $40,000. These two claims will be affected by the outcome of the A&P's civil suit. The Justice Department anticipates no difficulty in proving its charges in the civil suit and has warned that the A&P's publicity campaign, seeking special treatment accorded no one else under the anti-trust laws, will deter neither the Department nor the courts, in prosecution of the suit.

HOLY YEAR—A SHOW OF FORCE

by Percy Winner

More visitors will come to Rome between Christmas of this year and Christmas of next than in the last previous Holy Year of 1925. As a matter of fact, the number will probably be greater than in any other Holy Year since the Roman Catholic Church started the observance of periodic Jubilees six and one-half centuries ago.

The reasons are religious, psychological and political, and they derive from the state of the world after a war not only greater but different in kind from any other in recorded history.

The dominant mood in 1925 was conditioned by the myth of "normalcy," but in 1950 there is a large-scale revival of popular religious sentiment of the sort that in the past has not infrequently followed in the wake of wars particularly damaging to man's faith in himself as well as in a deity. The widespread memory of futile death has turned thoughts to an after-life; the dealing of death has brought out guilts and a need for forgiveness; and in the resultant atmosphere of insecurity, with its deep anxieties, there has been a shift of concern from material to spiritual values. No previous war was so costly in human life and suffering, none brought out more horrible inhumanities, none was more cruelly mechanized, none harnessed science more tragically in the service of destruction; and all this has put into harsh perspective the growingly materialistic values of civilization in an age of triumphant technology. The war's aftermath opened new and even more terrifying vistas of atomic and bacteriological holocausts; and there was little in the political prospect to give assurance that they would not become the practical realities of another war.

This is the second of a series of articles on the Catholic Church. The author, who is Foreign Affairs Editor of the New Republic, has been living in Rome for several months.

Hence men and women who otherwise might not have come to Rome will come during 1950 to pray for peace—in the world and in their own souls. Naturally most of these seekers for solace will be faithful communicants of the Roman Catholic Church making religious pilgrimages to sacred shrines of their faith and hoping for the spiritual benefits of the Indulgence of the Jubilee.

But non-Catholics as well as Catholics will join these pilgrims because the observance happens by chance to coincide with the first period since the end of the war when practical circumstances permit the satisfaction of a desire to travel. This year was the first great European tourist year in more than a decade, comparable to 1921, and 1950 will be far greater. A flood tide of pent-up wanderlust will sweep over the Continent, and Rome will be included on most itineraries. War damage, particularly of transportation and hotel facilities, has been repaired. All the Western European countries, starving for dollars, are doing everything they can to attract travelers. There will be eager bidding for Holy Year visitors in all the countries through which the pilgrims may pass on their way to Rome; other nations will follow the example of Italy, which has already promised reductions of from 40 to 60 percent in railway fares.

There is still another, perhaps a more important, reason for the influx of millions of visitors to Rome from all parts of the world. The base of the Western side of the Cold War has shifted from Washington to Rome. And from the viewpoint of world political dynamics, the most dramatic aspect of the Holy Year is that it will present a show of force on the part of the Roman Catholic Church in its struggle against the agencies of Marxist Communism in Moscow and else-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

where. For many of the visitors, coming to Rome will amount to participation in a moral crusade.

The highest prelates of the Church, including Pope Pius XII himself, have made quite plain in recent months that the See of St. Peter needs and wants in its conflict with Moscow precisely the kind of overt support that a dramatically successful Holy Year observance would provide. And of course the bishops throughout the world have been doing all they could to make the representations from their sees as large as possible. Therefore still other Catholics who but for that might not have come to Rome will swell the ranks of visitors in order to make the observance an overwhelmingly convincing demonstration of the strength of Roman Catholicism. And among the non-Catholic visitors there will be many who will be taking an opportunity to stand up and be counted *against* Moscow—if not entirely for Vatican City.

As an anti-Communist show of force the Holy Year will of course be primarily spiritual, moral and psychological. Yet it will also include most of the other elements of the modern dynamism of power. For example, there is a not inconsequential economic aspect. The visitors to Rome, whether pilgrims or tourists, whether Catholics or non-Catholics, will spend money; they will help thereby to provide the exchequer of the Church with material means for the practical aspects of the struggle against Communism. To be sure, most of the economic benefits of the Holy Year will be reaped by Italians and their government. But under the premiership of Alcide de Gasperi, a former civil servant of the Vatican, the present Christian Democratic government of the Italian Republic has been in the past (and is likely to be even more in the coming future) a political ally, if not an instrument, of Vatican temporal policy in Western Europe and South America.

In this economic sense the Holy Year of 1950 will have a certain resemblance to the original one in 1300. For it is a matter of objectively recorded history that Pope Boniface VIII had, as one of his purposes in instituting the observance of Jubilees, the need to provide revenues for his struggle against King Philip the Fair of France. The medieval world was breaking up; Philip, as the chief royal artificer of the rising nationalisms of France, Aragon and England, was making incursions into provinces which the medieval Church considered its own; and the reigning pope openly fought Philip as the present pope is openly fighting Stalin.

The present struggle against Soviet internationalism is more serious than the old one against nascent French nationalism. And the Church's fight against Communism amounts to far more than an expression of the antagonism which a religious institution that considers itself the heir to St. Peter's universal mission might naturally be expected to have against a laical institution which aggressively propagates a doctrine of atheistic materialism. For the Church is fighting Moscow not only as an enemy of religion; it also is fighting Moscow for three other reasons, each of them of enormous importance in the largest modern frame of political reference.

First, there is the struggle against Moscow as the maker of a new and false religion—paradoxically a religion of atheistic materialism which attaches sanctity to the state. This fact has been implicit for some time. It became overt recently in a manner typical of the Church's indirections—in an interpretation of the decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office condemning Communism and threatening with excommunication Catholics who "profess" it "knowingly and willingly." By this interpretation, faithful Catholics were given official permission to marry Communists, but only in accordance with the ecclesiastical rules prevailing for "mixed marriages" between Catholics and believers in other faiths.

The second of the reasons lies in the border area between religion and politics. In some ways the struggle of Roman Catholicism against Communism is at least as serious for the Church as its conflict in the sixteenth century with Protestantism. For behind the masses in Central and Eastern Europe and in Asia, whom Moscow is trying to "proselytize," lie the shadows of the Byzantine world against which the Western Church fought a life-and-death struggle for centuries before the sovereignty of the Bishop of Rome was finally established in the ninth century. And behind Marshal Joseph Stalin in the Kremlin lie not only the Czars who were the religious "little fathers" of the Slav millions, but also the shapes of those early Byzantine emperors with religious ambitions—the men who stood for the doctrine which is called Caesaropapism.

The duel between Church and State between clericalism and laicism, which will be reaching a climax in the middle of the twentieth century began in the fifth century. As Pope Pius XII has excommunicated Roman Catholics in present-day Eastern Europe who side with Stalin, so Pope Felix III excommunicated Patriarch Acacius of Constantinople, who, on behalf of the Byzantine Emperor Zeno III, presumed to challenge Rome's primacy in dogma.

To men and women of the New World these events of the distant past may seem irrelevant in the context of present-day politics. But to Pope Pius XII and the men in Vatican City who carry out his orders as a ruling temporal sovereign, they are very real and impor-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tant. And without some insight into the long historic past of the Vatican—an institution which consciously works for the ages—it is not possible to appraise accurately the full meaning of present Church policies.

At the end of the fifth century Pope Gelasius I warned the Byzantine Emperor Anastasius I that he must "give obedience to those to whom have been assigned the privileges of the sacred mysteries." But in the following centuries, the Eastern church broke away from the Western; hundreds of millions of Christians were lost to Rome. Their loss has always been regretted, and through the centuries many efforts have been made to regain them, but the existence of such a huge body of Christians outside the jurisdiction of Rome did not constitute a threat to Rome.

Such a threat now exists, so far as the Vatican can judge. This is the second reason for the intensity of its struggle against Moscow. The danger of Stalin in the role of a new Caesaropapist, a new Czaristic "little father," is that Moscow may find the means of exploiting for the Kremlin's political ends the religious sentiments of the millions of men and women who are Orthodox rather than Roman Catholics—the members of the various Greek Catholic, Russian Catholic and Eastern Catholic churches. Until the Russian Revolution the Czar was the dominant figure in the world of Orthodox Christianity, and there were close links between political Slavism—the doctrine of the dominance of the Slav peoples from Siberia and Eastern Asia to the Baltic and the Adriatic—and the Orthodox Church. In recent years Soviet Communism has merged more and more not only with Russian nationalism but with Pan-Slavic internationalism. This merger has been accompanied by a deliberate stimulation of religious elements, the opposition of the Slavs to the West has been transformed into a kind of Holy War, and Stalin, the *Vozd*, has emerged as a Byzantine religious leader.

When the Teutonic power of the Germans and Austrians stood between the West and the East, the political implications of a revival of religiose Pan-Slavism were not serious. Now the Slavs are in Europe. If they were merely atheists, the Church of Rome would be worried. But the false religion of Communism is gradually blending with a resurgence of the old Orthodox religion, and the Church of Rome is deeply concerned. Add to this the fact that Moscow is also working hard in the Moslem world; and it becomes plain why history—the history of Ghengis Khan, of the Tartars, the Mongols, the Huns—will have great present-day meaning in Rome during the coming year.

The third reason for the intensity of the Church's struggle against Moscow lies in the area where politics invades religion. Here the most important historical precedent is in the sixteenth century when Henry VIII took the Church of England away from Rome and made himself "the only protector, unique and supreme lord, and also, so far as the law of Christ allows, the supreme head." In Czechoslovakia, in Bulgaria, in Hungary, in Poland, the greatest threat of Moscow to the Vatican is not the stimulation of atheism; it is the creation of national churches owning no allegiance to the Supreme Pontiff of Rome. Though the personal fate of men like Cardinal Mindszenty and Monsignor Stepinac was important, the fact that such organizations as Catholic Action were infiltrated and thereby torn away from faithfulness to Rome was far more important. For Catholic Action is Roman Catholic, not Orthodox, and the danger is of a repetition of the tremendous losses of the sixteenth century.

Taken together, these three reasons contribute to an explanation of the Church's desire and need to make Holy Year a successful show of force. For obviously the Vatican is more than the Western base of a present-day Cold War; it is fighting a war of its own against Moscow, a conflict arising out of the long past and affecting the long future of its power—both religious and temporal.

The millions of men and women who will come here next year may not enable Pope Pius XII to bring Stalin to his knees as Pope Gregory VII did the Emperor Henry IV at Canossa. Gregory's doctrine of the absolute sovereignty of the Church in temporal matters is not likely to be revived in any foreseeable future. But the Church, as a temporal power, expects to be able to use the success of Holy Year as a means of strengthening its political position in the Western world, and thereby to cut its losses in the Eastern world.

Already the inroads of a modern Muscovite Caesaropapism into the East are being counterbalanced by the rapid growth of Roman clerical influence in the political life of the West. There are strongly pro-Vatican governments in Spain, Portugal, many South and Central American countries, Italy, Belgium, Austria and Western Germany; and the hierarchy in the United States is more politically active than ever before.

The area in which this growth of Vatican power touches the internal political affairs of the Western world is the interrelation between clericalism on the one hand and democracy and liberalism on the other. The question is: Can the Church successfully fight *its own* war against all that Moscow means to its past and future, and at the same time contribute to the growth of a democracy and liberalism that mean so much to the future of political progress in the Western world?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HAROLD L. ICKES: *Doing, or Being Done By*

THERE HAS BEEN a growing appreciation of the fact that Russia's development of the atom bomb has greatly changed the international situation, at least potentially. The United States is no longer able to twirl a loaded revolver, frontiersman fashion, under the nose of the Soviet Union. We probably have the larger stockpile of bombs, if, indeed, Russia has any at all. We may be able to produce more bombs, more quickly, than can Russia. But we do not know this and we can never be sure if and when Russian production will equal our own, or even exceed it.

While, generally speaking, the people have accepted the fact of Russia's acquisition of the bomb with satisfactory equanimity, some timorous souls have been asking each other, "What is going to happen to us? What can we do to assure our safety and that of our loved ones? On the theory that Russia will launch an atomic attack against us whenever it feels that the time is apt, should we not load our giant airplanes with all of the bombs that our stockpiles contain and, after an ultimatum to Russia that it must agree forthwith to our proposal of an international inspection of atomic-bomb resources, dispatch a death-dealing armada to give the Hiroshima treatment to the population—and industrial centers—of Russia?"

Those who advocate such a savagely desperate course are aware that, according to the Constitution, only Congress itself has the power to declare war. But, cynically, they suggest that an incident could be created as the result of which Congress would be stampeded into declaring war. Some go so far as to say that Congress could not do much about it if the President should take the law into his own hands and order that Russia be bombed. What ethical, moral or even religious principle may not be allowed a moratorium if our lives and those of our wives and children might be preserved?

In other words, if I stimulate my fears to the point of believing that my neighbor is plotting to wipe out my family, would I not be morally justified in anticipating the event by slipping over some dark night and destroying his house and all that it contains?

Obviously the answer is a distinct "no." Anticipated murder does not justify premeditated murder. Christ would have lived and died in vain were supposed followers of His to take into their own nervous hands, not only the human, but the divine law. What example would the venerated martyrs of the past, those who have suffered and died that others might live, furnish for these and the days to come, if they had cared so greatly for their own lives that, to safeguard them, they had responded to their own craven fears and murdered because they anticipated being murdered? Human lives may not be cast as dice in a game of chance. This generation would be a foul and loathsome thing in the eyes of history if, in a spate of fear and hate, we should undertake to blot out the Russians before they might blot us out.

Only the mutual understanding and love that is the result of a determination to do unto others as we would that others should do unto us, will make either an individual or a national life worth living.

The only chance of living out our lives free of fear of others is so to comport ourselves that we do not cause others to fear us. If we would be strong in our own strength, we must be sure that our strength is kept in reserve, confidently. Nor without just cause, should it be loosed upon our neighbors.

Are we not asking the impossible when we demand that Russia agree to an international inspection of atomic resources when it has firmly said that it would never so agree? Just what assurance could there be that any inspection covering such vast areas as Russia or China, Canada or the United States, could be depended upon? Might not such an attempt, the adequacy of which we might doubt, be the cause of even greater fear and suspicion than exist today? During the last war, although the contenders had such weapons ready, there was no resort, except perhaps by the Japanese on one or two relatively unimportant occasions in China, to gas or bacteriological warfare. Why might not the nations today agree not to use atomic power in the event of another war, since its use might exceed, in its calamitous effects, anything that gas or bacteriological bombs might have accomplished in World War II?

May God speed the day when the nations of the world can honorably resolve upon and maintain a policy of live and let live. I wonder if this is not what Christ would admonish us to do if He could but make us listen. It would be a realization of that for which He sacrificed His life. There is room in the world for the living together, in peace, of conflicting ideologies. There always has been. To live and let live is the only possible solution of domestic or international ills. It is something that, in the end, we must bring about if we are to live, even as animals. Therefore, is it not something that, if we are capable of thinking, we will at once proceed to do?

HAROLD L. ICKES

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A PROGRESS REPORT

HIGH STANDARDS were set for the 81st Congress. It was elected to enact the most ambitious program ever called for by the voters of America.

It was a program to bring the New Deal up to date, to extend its concepts, and to advance beyond them to new horizons. President Truman sent the program to Congress as a two-year task.

It was a hard task, but it was not unforeseen. Exhaustive hearings had been held by Congress on most of the measures that the President proposed. His housing and civil-rights programs had been approved many times by either the House or the Senate. His international policy had won bipartisan support. For these reasons the program was well within the power of the 81st Congress to complete in its two-year term, given the will.

Halfway along, the 81st Congress has accomplished a great deal in international affairs. The North Atlantic Pact and the Military Assistance Program, two preparedness measures, were carried because Republicans and Democrats voted together. ECA and the Reciprocal Trade Agreements were voted, free of crippling amendments, because, while the Republicans divided, the Democrats held firm.

In domestic affairs, at least one-half of the pledges of 1948 are still to be redeemed. The first part of the housing program is law at last: the social-security program is on its way. Increased living standards are due, for a minority of wage earners protected by higher minimum wages. But the Taft-Hartley Act remains on the books of Congress while in its pigeonholes the civil-rights program gathers dust.

The 81st Congress has been the best since 1937. Yet needs are growing, and unbalances are building up faster than Congress is moving ahead. Indecision and incompetence within the Administration, lack of liaison with Congress, and poor leadership on Capitol Hill certainly contributed to the defeats of the Fair Deal. Yet the three main factors that have held back the 81st Congress are these:

Obstruction. First is the power of a minority in Congress to obstruct legislation. "Congress in debate," Woodrow Wilson once said, "is Congress on public exhibition. Congress in its committee rooms is Con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gress at work." In the committee rooms of the 81st Congress, toleration of the Dixiecrats within the Democratic Party, and continuation of the seniority rule surrendered a large measure of control over the Fair Deal program to a minority of its bitterest enemies.

Coalition. Second, in the 81st Congress, the Fair Dealers are still a minority. The Democrats won a paper majority of 92 in the House and 12 in the Senate. But Southern conservatives held the balance of power. An even break among the Southerners, together with the votes of liberal Republicans, would have given the Fair Deal a bare majority. Instead, four out of five have fought the Fair Deal.

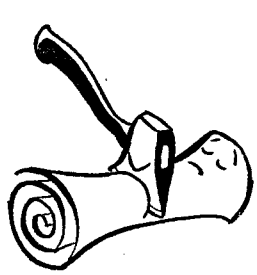
Division. Last, there was division within the Fair Deal. Truman's victory was not won by a solid liberal coalition. He was elected by city machines primarily concerned with patronage, by trade unions primarily concerned with labor legislation, by Negroes mainly interested in civil rights, and by farmers desirous of retaining rigid price supports. In particular, it was the shift in the farm vote that elected Truman, and, price supports aside, farm representatives have opposed the objectives of the Fair Deal.

The first session of the 81st Congress is over. The second session will renew the struggle for reform. But the 81st Congress has already shown that only when these underlying weaknesses are overcome can a reform program be assured.

II. THE COALITION TAKES CHARGE

THERE WERE THREE PARTIES in the 81st Congress. One hundred and seventy-one Republicans, 118 Democrats and 145 Southern Democrats in the House; 42 Republicans, 26 Southern Democrats and 28 non-Southern Democrats in the Senate. The alliance of Southerners and Republicans in the 81st Congress was stronger than ever before. "Some of the Dixiecrats part company with their Republican friends when they see an opportunity to get federal aid . . . provided by Northern industrial states," concluded Senator Paul Douglas (D, Ill.). "But . . . the affinity of interests between the Dixiecrats and the Republicans is too pronounced to be ignored."

The coalition worked with greatest effect in House and Senate committees where the seniority rule, and the toleration of the Dixiecrats within the Democratic Party, gave Southern conservatives decisive control. Twelve of the 20 House committees ended up under Southern chairmen. Nine of the 15 Senate-committee chairmanships went to conservative Democrats from Southern and border states. Review of court appointments and civil liberties fell to the tender care of Pat McCarran (D, Nev.); appropriations and all welfare measures to the loving hands of Kenneth McKellar (D, Tenn.); taxes to that champion of social justice, Walter George (D, Ga.). In the House the chairmanships of committees dealing with taxes, appropriations, housing, price control, agriculture and public works all fell to Southern conservatives. On the still powerful Rules Committee, three ancient gravediggers of the New Deal—Howard Smith of Virginia, Eugene Cox of Georgia and William Colmer of Mississippi—formed a majority, together with four conservative Republicans, to block liberal legislation.



In committee and in debate Dixiecrats and Republicans worked together, concluding deals, planning strategy, allocating forces. In all votes cast, the Southern Democrats show up far better than the Republicans on the *New Republic* charts, voting right 50 percent of the time as against a record of 30 percent for the Republicans and 75 percent for the non-Southern Democrats. Yet the good votes cast by Southerners were almost entirely on international affairs. On domestic issues 15 Southern Representatives and six Southern Senators consistently supported the Fair Deal. Just one Southerner, Senator Claude Pepper, supported the Administration in every fight.

Nineteen major measures sponsored by the Administration were defeated in the 81st Congress by the votes of Southern Democrats. They included key amendments to weaken or destroy rent control, minimum wages, natural-gas regulation and government reorganization. One in four of the Administration's victories in the 81st Congress was won only because enough Republicans joined the Democratic leadership to offset the loss of its own party members from the South. The Administration barely won its fight for public housing, when 58 Southern Representatives joined the Republicans and came within four votes of defeating the public-housing provision. Only the division among Republicans saved the Administration from complete defeat.

The major desertions were on labor legislation and civil rights.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Democratic Party platform endorsed in full the President's civil-rights program. It stated, "We advocate repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act."

The Republican Party platform promised abolition of the poll tax and of segregation in the armed forces, and legislation to prevent lynching and to assure freedom of opportunity.

These pledges, by which all party candidates were bound, were betrayed by Southern and Republican conservatives in the 81st Congress. The Southerners offered the President a bargain by which they would support one civil-rights measure if the rest of the program were withdrawn. When the President refused, they concluded a deal with the conservative Republicans by which the Southerners threw their support behind retention of the Taft-Hartley Act and in exchange the Republicans agreed to block the civil-rights program.

For 30 years civil-rights legislation has been killed off by Senate filibusters. Of 19 efforts to end filibusters since 1916, four ended when the closure rule was successfully invoked and not one directly involved the South.

For this reason the civil-rights debate in the 81st Congress opened with an Administration effort to amend the closure rule. The amendment merely extended the two-thirds closure rule to all motions before the Senate. And yet, egged on by the Republicans, the Southerners rolled into a filibuster. *Business Week* in defending their action explained that "it is not directed solely against the passage of civil-rights legislation. The filibuster is being enlarged to curb the headlong enactment of an ill-advised Administration program."

When the vote finally came to uphold Senator Barkley's ruling, 23 Democrats and 23 Republicans combined to kill the civil-rights program and to keep the archaic Senate rules. This vote of the coalition was weighed and measured to the last half gram, protecting the Republicans who faced reëlection or who represented industrial states.

Since fewer than half of the Republicans had stood by a unanimously adopted campaign pledge, Republican Whip Wherry, on behalf of 30 reactionary Democrats and 22 Republicans, introduced a new resolution on closure to fix up the record. Under its terms, as Senator Douglas explained, a minority of 33 Senators, representing eight percent of the voters, "can kill almost any bill it wants to kill." The resolution passed.

This victory left the coalition in full control. In the debate which followed on labor legislation, the Southerners in the Senate and House repaid their Republican partners by voting to reënact Taft-Hartley.

Here, as in the civil-rights program, the supremacy of the coalition made the position of the Fair Deal impossible. The Administration held responsibility without power. It could not redeem its campaign pledge to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act, nor could it compromise its support of collective-bargaining principles.

In the same way, the unions could not afford to stand firm for reinstatement of the Wagner Act, or to retreat very far down the road of amendment—which, under the rules of the Congress, has no end. The unions that suffer most from the Taft-Hartley Act wanted it off the books at any price. Those that suffer least insisted that defeat on a clear issue was better than compromise, in order to keep the record straight. From first to last, the Administration and the unions were divided, while the coalition worked together for a single objective.

In place of the Taft-Hartley Act, the Administration sent to Congress the Thomas-Lesinski bill. It eliminated the Taft-Hartley provisions abolishing the closed shop, curbing the union shop and barring all secondary boycotts. It abolished the provision for injunctions to deal with "national-paralysis" strikes. It retained the basic principles of the Wagner Act, adding four new provisions to discourage and to settle jurisdictional strikes; to protect the choice made by workers in plant elections; to discourage strikes or lockouts arising from interpretation of existing contracts, and to deal with national-emergency strikes, by Presidential discretion.

The CIO supported the bill without amendments; the AFL conceded the need for further amendments;

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the mineworkers and the left-wing CIO unions rejected it altogether. The Railroad Brotherhoods stood fast for Taft-Hartley repeal. In Congress, one group of Administration supporters opposed the bill as it stood. A second group introduced five liberalizing amendments. Speaker Sam Rayburn declared he was against the bill and supported the Administration's final substitute, the Sims bill, which contains provisions for injunctions and anti-Communist affidavits. Labor could neither support nor oppose the bill. It lost by a margin of labor-influenced votes.

The House went on, by 217 to 203, to pass the Wood bill: a new version of Taft-Hartley. Only a parliamentary maneuver by Representative Marcantonio (ALP, N. Y.), held the bill on the House floor until the Administration scraped together enough support to turn it back by three votes. In the Senate, the Administration reached its peak strength on the Lucas amendment to strike out the injunction provision for national-emergency strikes. It lost by 46 to 44, and the Senate went on to reënact the Taft-Hartley Act—with minor amendments.

In these votes, the compact which was begun on the issue of civil rights was completed. Seventy-one Democrats, all from Southern or border states, joined the Republicans to pass the Wood bill. Of the 46 Republicans and Southern Democrats who voted to keep the labor injunction by defeating the Lucas amendment, 45 had previously voted to keep the filibuster, by supporting the Wherry resolution.

III. STANDOFF WITH THE LOBBIES

THE LOBBIES spent $10 million—the equivalent of $20,000 for each legislator—to control the 80th Congress. In the first three months of the 81st Congress, the lobbies spent more than $2 million to influence legislation. Four lobbies alone—the Committee for Constitutional Government, the National Association of Electric Companies, the National Physicians Committee and the American Medical Association—declared expenditures totaling $532,000.

The 80th Congress surrendered to the lobbies without a fight. The 81st fought them to a standoff.

Preserving Free Enterprise

ONE MAJOR FIGHT on behalf of monopoly interests concerned the efforts of Senator Wherry (R, Nebr.) and his friends, the self-styled champions of free enterprise, to legitimize the illegal basing-point system.

In 1948 the Supreme Court found in the Cement Institute case that when independent companies offered cement at prices below the Institute's required levels, "Meetings were held by other producers; an effective plan was devised to punish the recalcitrants and bring them into line. . . . Other producers made the recalcitrant's plant an involuntary base point. . . . The base price was driven down . . . until the price at which this recalcitrant had to sell its cement dropped to 75 cents a barrel. Within six weeks . . . capitulation occurred . . . the recalcitrant joined a Portland cement association . . . and cement in that locality went back to $1.75."

The Court found that by secret sealed bids, a handful of corporations had fixed cement prices to one ten-thousandth of a cent per barrel. Previously the Court had held that the monopoly practice of forcing consumers to pay phantom freight charges for locally produced supplies was illegal. In 1948 it ruled that the entire basing-point system was an illegal conspiracy to violate anti-trust laws.

The conspirators were outraged. E. T. Weir, of National Steel, instructed all his customers to wire Congress demanding legislation to legalize the basing-point system. Irving Olds, chairman of the board of US Steel, declared that the industry would seek remedial legislation. At the same time, US Steel sharply raised its FOB mill prices to force Congressional action.

Congress acted. Senators Capehart (R, Ind.) and Wherry scheduled hearings in the 80th Congress that led naturally to a basing-point bill. "The bill," said Senator Douglas, "may well be the noose that strangles free competition."

Somewhat loosened, the noose passed both House and Senate. But under Senator McCarran's (D, Nev.) tender care it returned from conference committee tighter than ever. Under heavy lobby pressure the Senate approved the basing-point system: then reversed itself and sent the bill back to committee.

Regulating Natural Gas

FIVE SOUTHWESTERN STATES supply the natural gas that lights the homes and heats the stoves of America. The price was one cent per thousand cubic feet before the war. It is six to eight cents today. The natural-gas monopolies intend to raise the price by five cents in the near future.

The barrier to this grab is federal regulation. The

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

natural-gas lobby attempted in the 80th Congress to place natural gas above regulation by the Moore-Rizley bill. In the 81st they are trying again. Their bill is described in the Minority Report of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee as "one segment of the overall plan of the oil and gas industry . . . to destroy effective federal regulation." Its passage, the Minority Report adds, "would result in fantastic profits from the sale of a limited natural resource."

The bill passed the House, thanks to the efforts of Speaker Sam Rayburn. In the Senate it was held up. Frustrated, the oil, gas and utility lobbies turned their attention to capturing the regulatory agency of government, the Federal Power Commission. Led by Kerr, a natural-gas millionaire, Edwin Johnson (D, Colo.) and Lyndon Johnson (D, Tex.), the Senate staged a drumhead court martial of the FPC's outstanding leader, Leland Olds, and ran him out of Washington on the charge that he had been a radical during the Golden Twenties.

IV. THE FAIR DEAL ADVANCES

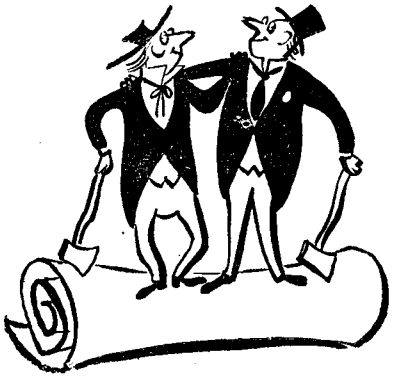
THE 81ST CONGRESS established a solid record of achievement. It enacted the Administration's foreign policy. It passed appropriation bills with record swiftness. It brought the New Deal up to date. It brought many other measures close to final passage.

Economic Recovery Program

THE ERP is a matter of life or death for European democracy. Congress is committed to its full support until 1952. This year ECA asked for $4,118 million. It was granted $3,778 million.

Three major attacks developed against ECA. The first, led by Taft and Richard Russell (D, Ga.), proposed a 10-percent cut in the program. This cut, Paul Hoffman predicted, "would tend to make the ERP another relief program." Fourteen Republicans, eight Southern and two non-Southern Democrats voted for the cut. It lost by 23 to 54.

A second attack attempted to transform ECA into a program to dump unwanted American surpluses in Europe, in place of desperately needed capital goods. The amendment, proposed by John McClellan (D, Ark.), was denounced by the leaders of the Farm Bureau Federation, the Grange and the National Farmers' Union as a "serious blunder." Vice President Barkley ruled that since it violated the basic principles of ERP it was out of order. His ruling was upheld, 52 to 32, with 24 Republicans, five Southern Democrats and three non-Southern Democrats backing the wrecking amendment.



A third attack proposed to transfer $50 million of ECA funds to fascist Spain. Its leader, Pat McCarran, explained that it would assist Spain "to maintain her integrity and to carry on the fight against Communism." Once again the Vice President ruled that the amendment was illegal. Once again the same bloc of Republicans and Southern Democrats voted against his ruling and lost.

In the House 15 Republicans and seven Southern Democrats on the Appropriations Committee voted to slash the program by 15 percent. In conference with the Senate the cuts were partially restored. But the savage attacks on ECA in committee hearings and in debate indicate that next year ECA faces a hard fight.

Reciprocal Trade

THE TRADE-AGREEMENTS program, started by Roosevelt, is vital to world recovery and to American prosperity. The 80th Congress reversed America's liberal trade policy. It crippled the Trade Agreements Act and extended it for one year only, in the expectation that the program would be killed altogether, following a Republican victory in 1948.

In the 81st Congress the House restored the original act after a Republican move to shelve it was defeated on party lines by 151 to 241. In the Senate special pleaders almost wrecked the program. Senator McCarthy (R, Wis.) led the fur bloc to a tie that was broken only by the vote of Barkley; Senator Thomas (D, Okla.) led a move to impose quotas on oil imports, and failed by one vote. Senator Millikin (R, Colo.) attempted to limit all tariff reductions by a "peril-point" restriction. Thirty-five Republicans and three Democrats from wool-producing states voted for his amendment; 43 Democrats and no Republicans voted for its defeat.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Housing

OVER LOUD REPUBLICAN CRIES of "Socialism," the 81st Congress passed a long-range housing bill—the first effort since 1937 to cope with the nation's increasing shortage of housing and its growing slums. In the next six years, more than 800,000 families can expect to be better housed and at reasonable rents. The blighted areas in which thousands now live will have been cleared and redeveloped, and research into methods of construction and management will have produced improvements for future projects. One hundred and thirty-five thousand new homes are scheduled to be built in the next years, and a farm-housing program costing $262.5 million is getting under way.

No thanks are due to the real-estate lobby, which, in the passage of the slum-clearance bill, suffered its first real defeat in twelve years. No thanks are due either to Senator Bricker (R, Ohio) and Representative Marcantonio (ALP, N. Y.), who did their best to confuse the issue by offering "anti-discrimination" amendments which, if accepted, would have cost the support of enough Southern Democrats to defeat the bill itself. As it was, a motion offered by a spokesman for the real-estate interests in the House failed by only five votes.

Rents

THE REAL-ESTATE LOBBY worked equally hard to end rent control. President Truman demanded a 15-month extension of rent ceilings and restoration of the original control system so that tenants might be protected from the rent gouging and illegal evictions that, since the 80th Congress, have become common practice. Congress turned down the GOP proposal to extend controls for 90 days only, and agreed to keep ceilings on for another 12 months. But it gave the Federal Housing Expediter only $17.5 million with which to enforce the law, instead of $26 million, as the President had requested.

More important, a landlord-sponsored amendment introduced by Representative John Bell Williams (D, Miss.) and Senator William Fulbright (D, Ark.) permitting local option on the removal of controls was included in the new bill. Since the "local-option" provision was adopted, more than two million houses and apartments have been removed from control. Thousands of other families find themselves in "decontrolled areas" with each passing month. Recent spot reports show rents in the decontrolled areas to have jumped from 50 to 400 percent. After the city council of Dallas, Texas, abolished local rent ceilings, a check of 450 families showed that increases had averaged 100 percent.

Wages

NEXT JANUARY, 1.5 million American workers are due to receive wage increases of from five to 15 cents more per hour. The new Fair Labor Standards Act, adopted in the closing days of the first session, raising the national minimum wage from 40 to 75 cents an hour, will mean an additional $300 million each year in salaries for our lowest-paid workers. In Georgia, for instance, one out of every four people employed by industry will get a raise.

At the same time, the new bill removes about 200,000 workers from coverage under the Wage-Hour Act. The House passed a "ripper" bill which would have exempted more than a million of the 22.6 million protected by the 1938 law. The Senate passed a far better measure, and largely won in conference. However, the final bill specifically excludes from coverage employees of small newspapers, sawmills and taxicab companies, and newsboys; gives wider exemptions than before to laundries, bakeries; removes overtime-pay requirements for certain work in fish canneries, railroad and trucking companies. Its improvements include: tightening of the child-labor provisions of the law and a provision authorizing the Wage-Hour Administrator to bring suit on behalf of a worker for unpaid wages.

Power

AN EARLY REVERSAL of the 80th Congress' policy came on the hotly argued question of a $2.5 million steam plant to supply additional generating capacity for the TVA. The new Congress quickly approved this proposal, which preceding Congresses had rejected.

The first session also put an end to the game the private power companies had played with the 80th Congress in grabbing publicly owned transmission lines for their private profit. The Senate Appropriations Committee, under the urging of Hamilton Moses, president of Arkansas Power and Light, and D. C. McKee, of the Empire District Electric Company of Missouri, slashed funds for the Southwestern Power Authority for transmission of power from government dams to the consumers of Oklahoma, Texas and Ar-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

kansas, as well as appropriations for transmission lines connected with power projects in Montana, Idaho, Colorado, and for the Central Valley Project in California. After some blunt words from Senator Estes Kefauver (D, Tenn.) and others, the committee's action was overridden and the appropriations voted.

Insurance, Storage, Telephones

A $44 MILLION revolving fund was created from which loans can be made in the future whenever crop failures occur from natural causes. A new four-year program, extending participation to many more counties and insurance on a number of new crops, replaces the previous crop-insurance system.

The Commodity Credit Corporation's charter was revised to permit the CCC to provide storage facilities as and where needed so that farmers can market their crops at the most favorable time.

Thanks to the Rural Electrification Authority, 72 percent of rural homes now have electric power. But only 40 percent of our farm families have telephone service today. The 81st Congress voted to end the AT&T monopoly which has perpetuated this situation by authorizing the REA to make low-interest loans to finance telephone as well as electric lines in rural areas.

V. UNFINISHED BUSINESS—1950

THE 81ST CONGRESS has done much to bring the New Deal to completion. Much remains to be done. Major economic programs, first projected by the New Deal, are still the unfinished business of the 81st Congress.

Many of these programs are welfare measures. But welfare legislation alone cannot generate enough purchasing power to absorb a vast productive capacity. Nor can it meet the needs of a stricken world.

To keep pace with our mounting needs and problems the President sent three new and major programs to the 81st Congress. Its failure to consider seriously, let alone to enact, these programs at a time of approaching depression and deepening world conflicts is the basic failure of Congress that must be overcome.

The Brannan Plan

"DEPRESSIONS," as Charles Brannan, Secretary of Agriculture, says, "are farm-led and farm-fed." Increasingly our basic farm program of rigid price supports fails to offer protection for the farmer. It is wasteful and costly. It discourages consumption and promotes restriction of output. It accumulates huge surpluses of basic crops. It offers no solution for the perishable products that are becoming the most important part of our agriculture.

Brannan proposed a new program which would increase agricultural production by assuring farm income, and increase consumption by allowing agricultural prices to seek their own levels. It introduces a new support system of production payments under which, in Brannan's words: "The prices of certain farm commodities would be allowed to seek their own level on the market, and the farmer would be paid the difference between the support price and the average market price. Production payments would thus safeguard farm returns, and at the same time our entire production of perishable goods would be available to consumers on regular markets."

The Brannan program was stopped cold in the 81st Congress by the Farm Bureau Federation, acting on the outworn philosophy that it is necessary to hold production down in order to keep prices up. In the House the same coalition, of 160 Republicans and 76 Southern Democrats, led by Representative Albert Gore (D, Tenn.), wrecked the program and restored a costly program of rigid price supports. In the Senate the Brannan program was smothered in committee by former Secretary of Agriculture Clinton Anderson (D, N. M.). By log-rolling deals which added tung nuts, mohair and honey to the list of supported products, Gore and Anderson put their own program through. The Senate added poultry to the list of price-supported items and then passed an amendment offered by Senator Edwin Johnson (D, Colo.) defining Angora rabbits as being poultry for the purposes of the bill.

The Brannan program remains a high priority. Parity levels are rising above the highest wartime peaks. Heavy marketing of crops and mounting crops are forcing the government deeper into storing wasted surpluses: production of unwanted Irish potatoes, which has cost $400 million in three years in price supports, is continuing. Within a year the $4 billion of food held in storage is likely to rise to $8 billion under the new law. Meanwhile, farmers producing meat, milk, poultry, eggs and vegetables are largely unprotected, although in agriculture falling prices offer no hope of orderly readjustment.

(*Continued on page* 30)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EXPLANATION OF SENATE VOTING CHART

1. Cut Foreign Aid (4/1/49). Senators Taft (R, Ohio) and Russell (D, Ga.) offered an amendment to cut the second year's authorization of $4,480 million for European aid by 10 percent. The Senate rejected the amendment, 23 to 54. Thirty-five Democrats and 19 Republicans voted against the cut; nine Democrats and 14 Republicans favored it.

2. Aid for Spain (8/4/49). Majority Leader Scott Lucas (D, Ill.), presiding over the Senate, made a point of order against a committee amendment reserving $50 million for aid to Spain. Senator Pat McCarran (D, Nev.) attempted to appeal his ruling. By a vote of 55-36, the Senate sustained the Chair and dropped the appropriation.

3. North Atlantic Pact (7/21/49). The approval of the Pact, which formally binds this country with 11 other North Atlantic nations, came by 82 to 13, with only one Senator absent. Fifty Democrats and 32 Republicans voted for the Pact; two Democrats and 11 Republicans opposed it.

4. Cut Reciprocal Trade (9/15/49). Administration leaders won a complete victory when the Senate rejected all GOP-sponsored amendments. Senator Eugene Millikin (R, Colo.) introduced an amendment to extend the Act for two years, instead of three, and to retain the "peril point" clause.

5. Liberalize DP Act (10/15/49). A coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans defeated a bill that would have repealed the discriminatory provisions of the present DP law. During the session's last-minute rush of legislation, Republicans threatened to filibuster. Administration leaders lost control when the Senate passed a motion by Senators Cain (R, Wash.) and Eastland (D, Miss.) to send the DP bill back to the Senate Judiciary Committee. Seventeen Democrats and 19 Republicans favored the motion; 16 Democrats and 14 Republicans opposed it. Thirty Senators were absent.

6. Anti-Strike Injunctions (6/28/49). Senator Scott Lucas (D, Ill.) offered an amendment to Taft's substitute for Title III (national emergency strikes) to eliminate provision for anti-strike injunctions. Lucas lost by two votes (44 to 46), when 14 Democrats, mostly Southerners, and 32 Republicans voted against him. Thirty-eight Democrats and six Republicans voted with him.

7. Confirm Taft-Hartley (6/30/49). After nearly four weeks of debate and a hectic round of crucial votes, the measure drafted by Taft as an "improvement" of the Taft-Hartley Act, so despised by labor, passed the Senate. By a simple amendment substituting three titles of the National Labor Relations Act, Taft, joined by Smith (R, N. J.) and Donnell (R, Mo.), reinstated the major provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947. The Administration lost when 16 Democrats joined 33 Republicans favoring the Taft substitute; 36 Democrats and eight Republicans opposed it.

8. Increase Minimum Wage (8/30/49). Southern Democrats, led by Senator Spessard Holland (D, Fla.), and Midwestern Republicans were responsible for passage of several crippling amendments to the 75-cent minimum-wage bill. The large hotel and department-store chains, as well as other establishments that have more than 50 percent of dollar volume of sales in intrastate commerce, were exempted from the Fair Labor Standards Act by the Holland amendment. The amendment passed, 50 to 23, with 19 Democrats and 31 Republicans favoring it; 20 Democrats and three Republicans were opposed.

9. Basing-Point System (8/12/49). The basing-point bill, strongly backed by the steel and cement interests, permitted use of delivered prices or freight-absorption practices. Senator Russell Long's (D, La.) motion would have kept the bill from going to conference. He was afraid that conferees would eliminate certain safeguards for small business. His motion was rejected, 28 to 49.

10. Public-Power Funds (8/23/49). The private power lobby had successfully gained ground when the Senate Appropriations Committee attempted to cut the Interior Department appropriation in half. The Senate rejected the committee cut, including the important Southwestern Power Administration transmission-line funds, by a vote of 38 to 45.

11. Federal Aid to Education (5/5/49). The Senate passed a bill for federal aid to the states of $300 million a year to help finance public schools. Only those states now providing aid to parochial and non-public schools could use any part of their federal allotment for such purposes. The final favorable vote was 58 to 15, with 12 Republicans and three Democrats opposing the measure.

12. Extend Rent Control (3/22/49). A landlord-sponsored amendment by Senator Fulbright (D, Ark.) permitting local authorities to abolish rent controls with the approval of state Governors passed by a vote of 45 to 35.

13. Kill Public Housing (4/21/49). The Senate passed the multi-billion-dollar slum-clearance and low-rent public-housing bill without any of the crippling GOP-sponsored amendments. By a vote of 19 to 58, the Senate rejected an amendment by Senator Bricker (R, Ohio) to eliminate low-rent public and farm housing.

14. Confirm Leland Olds (10/12/49). For 10 years the oil and natural-gas interests have attempted to remove Leland Olds from the Federal Power Commission because of his vigorous stand for lower gas rates. The Senate Commerce Committee, stacked against Olds and headed by his chief opponent, Senator Lyndon Johnson (D, Tex.), reported him unfavorably. The Senate rejected his nomination for a third term on the FPC by a vote of 15 to 53.

15. Cloture Rule (3/11/49). The beginning of the 81st Congress was marked by a Senate filibuster when a coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans defeated an Administration effort to amend the outmoded Senate rules that prevent limited debate. Vice President Barkley ruled that a petition, filed by a bipartisan group of 33 Senators, to silence the Southerners, was valid. His decision was rejected, 41 to 46. Of the Democrats, 25 voted with Barkley and 23 voted against. Of the Republicans, 16 voted for and 23 against.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE RECORD OF THE SENATE

	Cut Foreign Aid	Aid for Spain	North Atlantic Pact	Cut Reciprocal Trade	Liberalize DP Act	Anti-Strike Injunctions	Confirm Taft-Hartley	Restrict Minimum Wage	Basing-Point System	Public-Power Fund	Aid to Education	Extend Rent Control	Kill Public Housing	Confirm Leland Olds	Cloture
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
ALABAMA															
Hill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	–
Sparkman	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	O	–
ARIZONA															
Hayden	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	+	–
McFarland	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
ARKANSAS															
Fulbright	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	O	–	–
McClellan	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
CALIFORNIA															
Downey	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	O	+	+
Knowland	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
COLORADO															
Johnson	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	O	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
Millikin	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
CONNECTICUT															
Baldwin	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	O	+	–	–	O	+	–	+
McMahon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
DELAWARE															
Frear	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	–	+	+	+	O	+
Williams	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
FLORIDA															
Holland	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–
Pepper	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
GEORGIA															
George	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
Russell	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
IDAHO															
Dworshak [1]					–										
Taylor	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ILLINOIS															
Douglas	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Lucas	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
INDIANA															
Capehart	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
Jenner	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	+	–	O	–	–
IOWA															
Gillette	–	+	+	+	O	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
Hickenlooper	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
KANSAS															
Reed	+	+	+	–	O	–	–	O	–	–	+	O	–	–	–
Schoeppel	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
KENTUCKY															
Chapman	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
Withers	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	+	O	+
LOUISIANA															
Ellender	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
Long	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
MAINE															
Brewster	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	O	+	–	O	–	+
Smith	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
MARYLAND															
O'Conor	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	O	–	+	–	–	+
Tydings	+	+	+	+	O	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	+
MASSACHUSETTS															
Lodge	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
Saltonstall	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
MICHIGAN															
Ferguson	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+
Vandenberg	+	+	+	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	O	–
MINNESOTA															
Humphrey	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Thye	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
MISSISSIPPI															
Eastland	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	O	–	+	O	O	–	–
Stennis	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	O	+	–	–

The symbol [+] indicates, in the opinion of the editors, a progressive vote. The symbol [–] indicates an anti-progressive vote. Those paired, or announced against progressivism, are tabulated [–]; those for, or announced for progressivism [+]. Those paired generally, absent or not voting are tabulated [O]. A blank indicates that the incumbent was not at that time a member of the Senate.

*Names of Democrats are set in light type and Republicans in **bold italic**.*

Numbers in brackets after certain names, e.g. [1], signify the following:

1. *Appointed by Governor, October 14, to fill vacancy caused by death of Senator Miller.*
2. *Appointed by Governor, July 7, to fill vacancy caused by resignation of Senator Wagner.*
3. *Appointed by Governor, March 29, to fill vacancy caused by death of Senator Broughton.*
4. *Appointed by Governor, August 24, to fill vacancy created by Senator McGrath, who was appointed Attorney General.*

A short explanation of each of the votes appears, with a corresponding number, on page 24.

	Cut Foreign Aid	Aid for Spain	North Atlantic Pact	Cut Reciprocal Trade	Liberalize DP Act	Anti-Strike Injunctions	Confirm Taft-Hartley	Restrict Minimum Wage	Basing-Point System	Public-Power Fund	Aid to Education	Extend Rent Control	Kill Public Housing	Confirm Leland Olds	Cloture
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
MISSOURI															
Donnell	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
Kem	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	O	–	–
MONTANA															
Ecton	–	–	+	–	–	O	+	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Murray	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NEBRASKA															
Butler	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–
Wherry	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
NEVADA															
Malone	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	O	+	–	–
McCarran	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	O	–	–	+	–	O	O	–
NEW HAMPSHIRE															
Bridges	O	–	+	–	O	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
Tobey	–	+	+	–	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
NEW JERSEY															
Hendrickson	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
Smith	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
NEW MEXICO															
Anderson	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Chavez	O	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
NEW YORK															
Ives	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
Dulles [2]		+	+	–	+			–	–	–				–	
NORTH CAROLINA															
Graham [3]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		O	+	
Hoey	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
NORTH DAKOTA															
Langer	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
Young	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	O	–	+	–	–
OHIO															
Bricker	–	–	+	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Taft	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+
OKLAHOMA															
Kerr	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
Thomas	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
OREGON															
Cordon	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Morse	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
PENNSYLVANIA															
Martin	–	+	+	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Myers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
RHODE ISLAND															
Green	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Leahy [4]				+	+			+						–	
SOUTH CAROLINA															
Johnston	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
Maybank	–	O	+	+	–	–	–	O	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
SOUTH DAKOTA															
Gurney	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
Mundt	+	–	+	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
TENNESSEE															
Kefauver	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
McKellar	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
TEXAS															
Connally	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
Johnson	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	O	+	–	–
UTAH															
Thomas	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
Watkins	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
VERMONT															
Aiken	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+
Flanders	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	O	–	+	+	+	–	+
VIRGINIA															
Byrd	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–
Robertson	+	+	+	+	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
WASHINGTON															
Cain	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Magnuson	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
WEST VIRGINIA															
Kilgore	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
Neely	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+
WISCONSIN															
McCarthy	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
Wiley	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	O	–	+
WYOMING															
Hunt	+	+	+	–	O	+	+	O	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
O'Mahoney	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	O	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EXPLANATION OF HOUSE VOTING CHART

1. Eliminate Gag Rule (1/3/49). In the past, the House Rules Committee has had the power to refuse to give a bill a rule, thereby keeping it from going to the floor for a vote. Because of this "gag" rule, the Administration proposed a resolution permitting chairmen of committees to report bills directly to the floor 21 days after the Rules Committee had considered them. This was done after the House had voted, 275 to 143, to close debate and vote on the resolution.

2. Rent Control (3/15/49). An amendment by Representative Jesse Wolcott (R, Mich.) would have sent the bill back to committee with instructions to provide a 90-day extension of rent controls instead of the 15 months. The House rejected the motion, 154 to 260.

3. Kill Public Housing (6/29/49). The Democrats, by a bare majority, managed to defeat virtually all of the crippling amendments to the long-range-housing bill. Representative Rees (R, Kan.) offered an amendment to strike out Title II of the Housing Act of 1949 which provided for low-rent public housing. The Administration defeated his proposal by a small margin, 204 to 209.

4. Broaden Social Security (10/4/49). The Administration's comprehensive social-security bill, which broadens coverage and increased benefits, finally passed the House after a long debate on a rule that no amendments to the bill could be considered. On the motion by Sabath (D, Ill.), the House voted, 175 to 154, in favor of the rule.

5. Veterans'-Pension Plan (3/24/49). Representative Rankin (D, Miss.) railroaded a veterans'-pension bill through committee that would have cost $126 million the first year. For the longer run, the cost would be astronomical, and Administration leaders opposed the measure because the financial obligation upon the government would have endangered the whole social-security and old-age pension program. On a motion to send the bill back to committee, the House voted, 208 to 207, against Rankin.

6. Brannan Farm Plan (7/21/49). The House decisively defeated the Administration's farm program, proposed by Secretary of Agriculture Brannan. A coalition of 160 Republicans and 79 Democrats—including some usually strong Administration supporters—voted to substitute a bill by Representative Gore (D, Tenn.) which would continue the present farm program for one year. The final vote was 239 to 170, with 165 Democrats, four Republicans and one ALP member voting against the Gore substitution.

7. Anti-Poll-Tax Bill (7/26/49). For the fifth time in the past eight years, the House passed a bill outlawing payment of a poll tax as a requirement for voting in a primary or general election for federal officeholders. The vote on final passage was 273 to 116, with 151 Democrats, 121 Republicans and one ALP member voting for the bill; 92 Democrats —all but seven from the South—and 24 Republicans opposed it.

8. Basing-Point System (10/14/49). The bill legalized freight-absorption practices and delivered pricing, and limited the power of the Federal Trade Commisson. The Senate-House conference committee weakened the Kefauver-Carroll amendments which were safeguards for small business, and sent the bill back to the House for a vote. Representative Patman (D, Tex.) moved to recommit, but the House rejected his motion by a vote of 138 to 178. Sixty-two Democrats joined 116 Republicans to oppose the motion; 129 Democrats and nine Republicans favored it.

9. Strengthen Clayton Act (8/15/49). The House, by a vote of 223 to 92, suspended the rules and passed a bill designed to strengthen the Clayton Anti-Trust Act. It would prohibit the acquisition by one firm of the assets of another "if the effect would be substantially to lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly."

10. Natural-Gas Act (8/5/49). The House yielded to the oil and gas interests and passed a bill that would exempt the operations of independent natural-gas producers, including their "arms-length" sales to interstate pipeline companies, from jurisdiction of the Federal Power Commission. The vote was 183 to 131, with 93 Democrats and 90 Republicans favoring the bill, 97 Democrats and 34 Republicans opposed.

11. Increase Minimum Wage (8/10/49). The Administration's minimum-wage bill was crippled by a long series of amendments. As passed by the House, it excluded some one million workers from the 22,600,000 covered under the existing Wage-Hour Act. The substitute bill, offered by Wingate Lucas (D, Tex.), passed, 225 to 181, over Administration protests, with 168 Democrats and 12 Republicans and one ALP member voting against it, 82 Democrats and 143 Republicans favoring it.

12. Continue Taft-Hartley (5/3/49). The Southern Democratic-Republican coalition was strikingly successful in a roll-call vote on the Wood bill, which substituted the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act for the Administration's Lesinski labor bill. Seventy-one Democrats, all from Southern or border states, joined 146 Republicans for the bill, while 180 Democrats, 22 Republicans and one ALP member voted against it. The House passed the Wood bill by a vote of 217 to 203.

13. Recommit Labor Bill (5/4/49). The House in swift succession passed the Wood labor bill with its Taft-Hartley provisions and then turned around and voted, 212 to 209, to recommit the bill to the House Labor Committee.

14. Reciprocal Trade (2/9/49). The House passed and sent to the Senate the Administration's bill to extend the Reciprocal Trade Agreements program. Action came after the House defeated a move by Representative Simpson (R, Pa.) to send the measure back to committee. The House rejected Simpson's motion by a strict party-line vote of 151 to 241.

15. Continue Marshall Plan (4/12/49). Attempts in both the Senate and the House to cut funds and limit the scope of ECA were beaten soundly. Only a handful of isolationists, along with a few non-interventionist liberals, voted against the measure, which authorized a total of $5,430 million for aid in 1950. The House passed the bill, 335 to 49.

The New Republic gratefully acknowledges its obligation to the Congressional Quarterly for the information in the charts published in this issue.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE RECORD OF THE HOUSE

Cong. District	1 Eliminate Gag Rule	2 Limit Rent Control	3 Kill Public Housing	4 Broaden Social Security	5 Veterans'-Pension Plan	6 Brannan Farm Plan	7 Anti-Poll-Tax Bill	8 Basing-Point System	9 Strengthen Clayton Act	10 Natural-Gas Industry	11 Increase Minimum Wage	12 Continue Taft-Hartley	13 Recommit Labor Bill	14 Reciprocal Trade	15 Continue Marshall Plan
ALABAMA															
3 Andrews	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
9 Battle	–	+	+	–	○	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
1 Boykin	–	–	○	+	–	–	–	–	○	–	–	–	–	+	+
6 deGraffenried	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	○	○	–	–	○	○	+	+
7 Elliott	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	○	○
2 Grant	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
4 Hobbs	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
8 Jones	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
5 Rains	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	○	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
ARIZONA															
AL Murdock	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
AL Patten	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ARKANSAS															
1 Gathings	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
7 Harris	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+
5 Hays	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+
2 Mills	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
6 Norrell	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+
4 Tackett	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+
3 Trimble	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
CALIFORNIA															
7 *Allen*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
8 *Anderson*	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
11 *Bramblett*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2 Engle	+	+	+	○	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
4 Havenner	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
3 *Johnson*	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	○	–	–	–	–	+
23 McKinnon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	○	–	–	–	–	+
6 Miller	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22 *Phillips*	–	–	–	○	+	–	+	○	○	–	–	–	–	–	+
1 *Scudder*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
21 Sheppard	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Vacancy															
10 *Werdel*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 White	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
Los Angeles County															
14 Douglas	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18 Doyle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20 *Hinshaw*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	○	○	–	–	–	–	+
19 Holifield	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
16 *Jackson*	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
17 King	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 *McDonough*	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
12 *Nixon*	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
13 *Poulson*	○	○	–	–	+	–	+	○	+	–	○	–	–	+	○
COLORADO															
4 Aspinall	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Carroll	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 *Hill*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3 Marsalis	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
CONNECTICUT															
4 *Lodge*	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
3 McGuire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 *Patterson*	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Ribicoff	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	○	○	+	+	+	+	+
AL *Sadlak*	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	○	–	○	–	–	–	–	+
2 Woodhouse	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	○	○	+	+	+	+	+
DELAWARE															
AL *Boggs*	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
FLORIDA															
2 Bennett	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
5 Herlong	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	○	–	–	–	+	+	+
1 Peterson	+	–	○	+	–	+	–	–	○	–	–	–	+	+	+
6 Rogers	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
3 Sikes	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	○	○	–	+	+	+	+
4 Smathers	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
GEORGIA															
10 Brown	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
4 Camp	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	○	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
2 Cox	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+

The symbol [+] indicates, in the opinion of the editors, a progressive vote. The symbol [–] indicates an anti-progressive vote. Those paired, or announced against progressivism, are tabulated [–]; those for, or announced for progressivism [+]. Those paired generally, absent or not voting are tabulated [○]. A blank indicates that the incumbent was not at that time a member of Congress.

Names of Democrats are set in light type and Republicans in bold italic.

Numbers in brackets after certain names, e.g. [1], signify the following:

1. *Sworn in June 14, 1949.*
2. *Sworn in September 28, 1949.*
3. *The Speaker of the House does not vote except in case of a tie.*

A short explanation of each of the votes appears, with a corresponding number, on page 26.

Cong. District	1 Eliminate Gag Rule	2 Limit Rent Control	3 Kill Public Housing	4 Broaden Social Security	5 Veterans'-Pension Plan	6 Brannan Farm Plan	7 Anti-Poll-Tax Bill	8 Basing-Point System	9 Strengthen Clayton Act	10 Natural-Gas Industry	11 Increase Minimum Wage	12 Continue Taft-Hartley	13 Recommit Labor Bill	14 Reciprocal Trade	15 Continue Marshall Plan
GEORGIA (continued)															
5 Davis	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
7 Lanham	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
3 Pace	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	○	○	–	–	–	–	+	+
1 Preston	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
6 Vinson	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	○	+	○	–	–	–	+	+
8 Wheeler	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
9 Wood	–	○	–	+	–	–	–	○	○	○	–	–	–	+	○
IDAHO															
2 *Sanborn*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	○	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 White	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	○	○	+	+	+	+	+	○
ILLINOIS															
16 *Allen*	–	–	–	–	○	–	○	○	○	○	–	–	–	–	–
17 *Arends*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
26 *Bishop*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
19 *Chiperfield*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
23 *Jenison*	○	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	○	–	–	–	–	–	–
21 Mack	+	+	+	○	+	–	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 *Mason*	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	○	–	–	–	–	–
22 *McMillen*	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
25 Price	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14 *Reed*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
20 *Simpson*	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
18 *Velde*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
24 *Vursell*	–	–	–	–	–	–	○	–	–	○	–	–	–	–	–
Chicago—Cook County															
4 Buckley	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 Chesney	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
13 *Church*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Dawson	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Gordon	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
5 Gorski	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
10 *Hoffman*	–	○	–	–	–	–	+	○	–	○	–	–	–	–	–
12 *Jonas*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	○	–	○	○	–	–	–	–
3 Linehan	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 O'Brien	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 O'Hara	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Sabath	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	○	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
9 Yates	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
INDIANA															
3 Crook	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Denton	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 *Halleck*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	○	○	–	–	–	–	+
6 *Harden*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	○	–	–	–	–	–	+
10 *Harvey*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	○	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
11 Jacobs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	○
4 Kruse	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	○	○	+	+	+	+	+
1 Madden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	○	+	+	+	+	+
7 Noland	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	○	+	+	+	+	+
5 Walsh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	○	+	○	○	+	+
9 *Wilson*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	○	–	–	–	–	–	–
IOWA															
5 *Cunningham*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
6 *Dolliver*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	○	○	–	–	–	–	+
3 *Gross*	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–
8 *Hoeven*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
7 *Jensen*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
4 *LeCompte*	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1 *Martin*	–	–	–	–	–	–	○	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2 *Talle*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
KANSAS															
1 *Cole*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
5 *Hope*	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
3 *Meyer*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
4 *Rees*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	○	–	–	–	–	–	+
2 *Scrivner*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
6 *Smith*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
KENTUCKY															
8 Bates	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
4 Chelf	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
1 Gregory	–	+	+	○	+	–	–	○	○	–	○	–	–	+	+
9 *Golden*	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	○	○	–	–	+	+	+	+
3 *Morton*	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	○	○	–	–	–	–	–	○
7 Perkins	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Spence	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Underwood	+	+	+	○	–	–	+	○	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
2 Whitaker	+	+	○	○	–	–	–	–	○	○	+	○	+	+	○
LOUISIANA															
8 Allen	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
2 Boggs	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
4 Brooks	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
1 Hebert	+	+	–	○	–	–	–	○	○	–	–	–	–	+	+
7 Larcade	–	+	–	○	–	–	–	○	–	○	–	–	–	+	–
6 Morrison	+	+	○	+	–	○	–	○	+	○	+	+	+	+	○
5 Passman	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	○	+	–	–	+	–
3 Willis	+	+	–	○	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE RECORD OF

Cong. District	1 Eliminate Gag Rule	2 Limit Rent Control	3 Kill Public Housing	4 Broaden Social Security	5 Veterans'-Pension Plan	6 Brannan Farm Plan	7 Anti-Poll-Tax Bill	8 Basing-Point System	9 Strengthen Clayton Act	10 Natural-Gas Industry	11 Increase Minimum Wage	12 Continue Taft-Hartley	13 Recommit Labor Bill	14 Reciprocal Trade	15 Continue Marshall Plan
MAINE															
3 *Fellows*	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	○	○	−	○	−	−	−	+
1 *Hale*	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	○	−	−	−	−	−	+
2 *Nelson*	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+
MARYLAND															
6 *Beall*	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	○	−	−	−	−	+
2 Bolton	+	−	−	○	−	−	+	−	○	+	−	−	+	+	+
4 Fallon	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+
3 Garmatz	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 *Miller*	−	−	−	○	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
5 Sasscer	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
MASSACHUSETTS															
6 *Bates*	−	−	−	○	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
4 Donohue	+	+	+	○	−	−	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
2 Furcolo	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 *Goodwin*	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
10 *Herter*	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	○	−	−	−	−	−	+
1 *Heselton*	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
11 Kennedy	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	○	○	+	+	+	−	+
7 Lane	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
14 *Martin*	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	○	−	−	−	−	−	+
12 McCormack	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
9 *Nicholson*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	○	−	−	−	−	+
3 Philbin	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
5 *Rogers*	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
13 *Wigglesworth*	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
MICHIGAN															
12 *Bennett*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
6 *Blackney*	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	○	−	−	−	−	−
8 *Crawford*	○	−	−	−	+	−	−	○	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
9 *Engel*	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
5 *Ford*	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	○	−	−	−	−	+
4 *Hoffman*	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2 *Michener*	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
11 *Potter*	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	○	−	−	−	−	+
3 *Shafer*	−	−	−	−	−	−	○	−	○	−	−	−	−	−	−
7 *Wolcott*	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
10 *Woodruff*	○	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Detroit—Wayne County															
15 Dingell	+	+	+	○	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
17 *Dondero*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
16 Lesinski	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+
13 O'Brien	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+
14 Rabaut	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
1 Sadowski	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
MINNESOTA															
7 *Andersen*	+	−	−	−	○	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
1 *Andresen*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	○	−	−	−	−	+
8 Blatnik	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 *Hagen*	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
5 Judd	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	○	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
6 Marshall	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 McCarthy	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 *O'Hara*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3 Wier	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MISSISSIPPI															
4 Abernethy	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
6 Colmer	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
1 Rankin	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
2 Whitten	−	+	−	○	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
3 Whittington	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
7 Williams	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	○	−
5 Winstead	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	○	−	−	−	−	+	+
MISSOURI															
5 Bolling	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 Cannon	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 *Carnahan*	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
6 Christopher	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Irving	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+
10 Jones	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
12 Karst	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
13 Karsten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Magee	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Moulder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
7 *Short*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
11 Sullivan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Welch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
MONTANA															
2 *D'Ewart*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1 Mansfield	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NEBRASKA															
1 *Curtis*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
4 *Miller*	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	○	−	−	−	−	−	−
2 O'Sullivan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 *Stefan*	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−

Cong. District	1 Eliminate Gag Rule	2 Limit Rent Control	3 Kill Public Housing	4 Broaden Social Security	5 Veterans'-Pension Plan	6 Brannan Farm Plan	7 Anti-Poll-Tax Bill	8 Basing-Point System	9 Strengthen Clayton Act	10 Natural-Gas Industry	11 Increase Minimum Wage	12 Continue Taft-Hartley	13 Recommit Labor Bill	14 Reciprocal Trade	15 Continue Marshall Plan
NEVADA															
AL Baring	+	+	+	○	−	+	+	○	○	○	+	+	+	+	+
NEW HAMPSHIRE															
2 *Cotton*	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
1 *Morrow*	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
NEW JERSEY															
11 Addonizio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 *Auchincloss*	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	○	○	−	+	+	+	+
8 *Canfield*	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
6 *Case*	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	○	+	−	+	+	+	+
5 *Eaton*	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	○	○	−	−	−	○	+
2 *Hand*	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	○	−	−	−	−	+
14 Hart	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Howell	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12 *Kean*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
13 Norton	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	○	○	+	+	+	+	+
10 Rodino	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 *Thomas*	+	○	+	+	○	+	○	+	○	○	○	+	○	+	+
9 *Towe*	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	○	○	+	−	+	+
1 *Wolverton*	+	+	+	○	−	−	+	−	○	+	−	−	−	−	+
NEW MEXICO															
AL Fernandez	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
AL Miles	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	○	−	−	+	+	+	+
NEW YORK															
32 Byrne	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
39 *Cole*	○	−	−	−	+	−	○	+	○	−	−	−	−	−	+
35 Davies	+	+	+	○	+	+	−	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+
28 *Gamble*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+
44 Gorski	○	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+
27 *Gwinn*	+	−	−	+	+	+	○	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+
37 *Hall, E. A.*	+	+	−	○	−	−	+	○	○	○	−	−	−	−	+
2 *Hall, L. W.*	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
31 *Kearney*	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
40 *Keating*	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	○	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
34 *Kilburn*	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	○	○	−	−	−	−	−	+
30 *LeFevre*	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	○	−	−	−	−	−	+
1 *Macy*	−	−	−	○	−	−	+	−	−	○	−	−	−	−	+
42 *Pfeiffer, W. L.*	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	○	−	−	−	−	+
45 *Reed*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	○	○	−	−	−	−	−	+
36 *Riehlman*	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	○	−	−	−	−	−	+
29 *St. George*	−	−	○	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	○	−	−	−	+
38 *Taber*	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−
43 Tauriello	○	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
33 *Taylor*	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	○	○	+	+	−	+	+	+
41 *Wadsworth*	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
New York City															
20 Roosevelt [1]			+	○		+	+		+	○					
25 Buckley	+	+	+	○	−	○	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
15 Celler	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
4 Clemente	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
17 *Coudert*	−	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
6 Delaney	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24 Dollinger	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 Heffernan	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
21 *Javits*	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
9 Keogh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19 Klein	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
3 *Latham*	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+
23 Lynch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	○	+	+	+	+	−
18 Marcantonio AL	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	−
26 McGrath	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
14 Multer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
16 Murphy	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
13 O'Toole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Pfeifer, J.	+	+	+	+	−	○	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
22 Powell	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	−
5 Quinn	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
12 Rooney	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
10 Vacancy															
7 Heller		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	○	+	+	+		+
NORTH CAROLINA															
3 Barden	+	−	−	○	+	−	−	○	○	○	−	−	−	+	−
1 Bonner	+	+	−	○	−	−	−	○	○	○	−	−	−	○	−
11 Bulwinkle	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	−	−	−	○
7 Carlyle	+	+	○	○	−	○	○	○	○	○	−	−	−	○	+
5 Chatham	+	+	○	○	+	○	○	○	○	○	−	−	−	○	+
4 Cooley	+	+	○	○	+	○	○	○	○	○	−	+	+	+	+
8 Deane	+	+	+	○	+	○	+	+	○	○	+	+	+	+	+
9 Doughton	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	−	−	−	+	+
6 Durham	+	+	−	○	+	−	○	+	○	−	−	−	−	+	+
10 Jones	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	−	−	+	+	+	+
2 Kerr	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	○	○	−	−	−	+	+
12 Redden	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	○	−	−	−	−	+	+
NORTH DAKOTA															
AL *Burdick*	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
AL *Lemke*	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE HOUSE (cont'd)

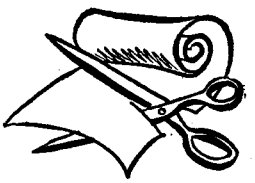
Cong. District	1 Eliminate Gag Rule	2 Limit Rent Control	3 Kill Public Housing	4 Broaden Social Security	5 Veterans'-Pension Plan	6 Brannan Farm Plan	7 Anti-Poll-Tax Bill	8 Basing-Point System	9 Strengthen Clayton Act	10 Natural-Gas Industry	11 Increase Minimum Wage	12 Continue Taft-Hartley	13 Recommit Labor Bill	14 Reciprocal Trade	15 Continue Marshall Plan
OHIO															
22 *Bolton*	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	○	○	○	−	−	−	+
3 Breen	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 *Brehm*	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	○	○	○	−	−	−	+
7 *Brown*	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+
9 Burke	○	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	○	+	−	+	+	+	+
5 *Clevenger*	−	−	−	−	○	○	+	−	○	○	○	○	−	−	+
21 *Crosser*	+	+	+	+	○	−	−	○	+	+	+	○	+	+	+
1 *Elston*	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	○	○	−	−	−	−	○
20 Feighan	+	+	+	+	○	−	+	−	○	○	+	−	+	+	+
18 Hays	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14 Huber	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
10 *Jenkins*	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
19 Kirwan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
4 *McCulloch*	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	○	+	+	−	−	−	+
17 *McGregor*	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	○	○	○	−	−	−	−
16 McSweeney	+	+	+	○	○	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Polk	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 Secrest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	○	+
8 *Smith*	○	○	−	−	○	○	−	−	○	○	−	○	−	○	○
12 *Vorys*	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	○	+	−	−	−	+
2 Wagner	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
13 *Waichel*	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	○	−	+	−	−	−	+
AL Young	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
OKLAHOMA															
3 Albert	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
1 Gilmer	+	+	+	+	○	−	−	−	○	○	+	+	+	+	+
5 Monroney	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
6 Morris	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
4 Steed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
2 Stigler	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
7 Wickersham	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
8 Wilson	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	○	−	+	+	+	+	+
OREGON															
3 *Angell*	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	○	+	○	+	+	+	−	+
4 *Ellsworth*	+	−	−	−	+	−	○	−	−	○	−	−	−	−	+
1 *Norblad*	○	−	−	○	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
2 *Stockman*	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
PENNSYLVANIA															
33 Buchanan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
23 Cavalcante	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
26 *Saylor* [2]				−											
30 *Corbett*	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
9 *Dague*	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
29 Davenport	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
32 Eberharter	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
12 *Fenton*	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
11 Flood	+	+	+	○	−	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
31 *Fulton*	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
19 *Gavin*	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
14 *Gillette*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
25 *Graham*	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
7 *James*	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
28 *Kearns*	−	−	○	−	−	−	+	−	−	○	−	−	−	−	○
27 Kelley	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
18 *Kunkel*	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
8 *Lichtenwalter*	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	○	○	−	−	−	−	+
21 Lind	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
16 *McConnel*	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
24 Morgan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
10 O'Neill	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	○	+	+	+	+	+	+
13 Rhodes	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 *Rich*	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
17 *Simpson*	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	○	−	−	−	−	−	+
22 *Van Zandt*	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
20 Walter	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Philadelphia															
1 Barrett	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Chudoff	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	○	+
2 Granahan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Green	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 *Scott, Hardie*	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	○	○	−	−	−	○	+
6 *Scott, Hugh*	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	○	−	−	−	−	○	+
RHODE ISLAND															
2 Fogarty	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	○	○	+	+	+	+	+
1 Forand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
SOUTH CAROLINA															
4 Bryson	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
3 Hare	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
6 McMillan	−	−	−	○	−	−	−	○	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
5 Richards	−	−	−	○	−	−	−	○	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
1 Rivers	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	○	−	−	−	○	+
2 Sims	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+
SOUTH DAKOTA															
2 *Case*	−	−	−	−	−	−	○	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
1 *Lovre*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	○	−	−	−	−	−	+
TENNESSEE															
9 Cooper	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
10 Davis	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
5 Evins	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+
3 *Frazier*	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	○	−	+	+	+	+
4 Gore	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	○	○	+	+	+	+	+
2 *Jennings*	○	−	−	−	−	−	○	−	+	○	−	−	−	+	+
8 Murray	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
1 *Phillips*	○	−	+	−	−	−	+	○	○	○	−	+	+	+	+
6 Priest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
7 Sutton	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
TEXAS															
3 Beckworth	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
15 Bentsen	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	○	+	○	−	+	+	+	+
17 Burleson	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
2 Combs	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
21 Fisher	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
13 Gossett	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
20 Kilday	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
12 Lucas	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	○	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
14 Lyle	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	○	−	+	+	+	+	○
19 Mahon	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
1 Patman	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
7 Pickett	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
11 Poage	−	+	○	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
4 Rayburn [3]															
16 Regan	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
6 Teague	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	○	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
8 Thomas	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
9 Thompson	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	○
10 Thornberry	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	○	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
5 Wilson	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
18 Worley	+	+	−	○	+	+	−	○	○	−	−	+	+	+	+
UTAH															
2 Bosone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Granger	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
VERMONT															
AL *Plumley*	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	○	○	−	−	−	−	+
VIRGINIA															
4 Abbitt	+	+	−	○	+	−	−	○	○	○	−	−	−	○	+
1 Bland	+	+	+	○	+	−	−	○	○	○	○	−	−	+	+
6 Burton	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	○	−	−	−	−	+	+
9 Fugate	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
3 Gary	+	+	−	○	+	−	−	○	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
2 Hardy	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	○	−	−	−	+	+	+
7 Harrison	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
8 Smith	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	○	−	−	−	−	−	○	+
5 Stanley	+	+	−	○	+	−	−	−	○	○	−	−	−	+	+
WASHINGTON															
4 *Holmes*	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
5 *Horan*	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
2 Jackson	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 *Mack*	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	○	−	+	−	−	+
1 Mitchell	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 *Tollefson*	○	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	○	+	+	+	+	−	+
WEST VIRGINIA															
3 Bailey	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	○	+	+	+	+	−	+
4 Burnside	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	○	○	+	+	+	+	+
6 Hedrick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	○	+	+	+	+	+
5 Kee	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Ramsay	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Staggers	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	○	○	+	+	+	+	+
WISCONSIN															
5 Biemiller	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 *Byrnes*	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
2 *Davis*	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
9 *Hull*	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	−	+
6 *Keefe*	+	−	−	○	−	−	+	−	○	+	−	−	−	−	+
7 *Murray*	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
10 *O'Konski*	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
1 *Smith*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
3 *Withrow*	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	−	+
4 Zablocki	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
WYOMING															
AL *Barrett*	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Economic Expansion

"THE BUSINESS CYCLE is man-made," President Truman told Congress in his message on the State of the Union, "and men of good will working together can smooth it out." He sent to Congress a program to protect the American economy from inflation and depression and to assure its continuing health.

In the course of the 81st Congress, inflation passed its peak; a recession broke, leading to unemployment and undermining world recovery; limited recovery set in; most of the preconditions of a major depression continued to develop. Although its short-range function was obscured by such rapid changes, the long-range need for legislation was made painfully clear.



In February the President sent to Congress the Economic Stability Act, which charged the government with the duty of maintaining full employment by assuring adequate raw materials, industrial capacity and purchasing power. In later versions, increased stress was laid on the role of private industry, whose expansion in America and abroad is to be encouraged by government financing and guarantees. The bill was introduced in Congress, but never came to a final vote. As the danger of depression increases, its enactment becomes more and more urgent.

Point Four

IN HIS Inaugural Address, President Truman outlined four major courses of action for the future. The fourth was "a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas."

Throughout America this program won almost unanimous support. Throughout the world it was greeted as the first constructive answer to the absence of democracy and the threat of Communism.

The Point Four program was divided into the provisions, first, of technical assistance; second, of investment capital. The technical-assistance program was undertaken at once. The Secretariat of the United Nations and of all the specialized agencies developed a detailed program of mutual aid to cost a total of $35 million in the first year. Only at the end of the session did the government forward this program, somewhat altered, and still unfinished, to Congress. Hearings were scheduled, but with the United Nations Assembly awaiting American action before approving the plan, Republican leaders refused to give it even qualified support, and blasted it as another giveaway program.

Far more important, and very urgent, is the second part of the Point Four program, to provide capital funds for basic industrial development. Throughout Asia in particular, living standards are now at dangerously low levels and are due to fall sharply in the near future unless aid is provided. Only public investment by America, according to the Food and Agriculture Organization, can prevent a maturing world economic crisis.

The World Bank is lending, but on a hopelessly small scale. The Export-Import Bank is authorized to lend a total of $1 billion: that is one-half of one percent of our national income and one-third of the yearly needs of Asia alone. Private enterprise, for all the exhortations of government and Congress, is investing abroad less than $400 million a year.

No further plan has been developed. Here the Administration is very largely to blame. It has bungled an immense opportunity by timidity and conservatism.

The drawings illustrating the material on Congress in this issue are by Leo Hershfield.

Valley Development

BOTH POLITICAL PARTIES promised valley development in 1948. But unified development of Columbia Valley and Missouri Valley Authorities, along the lines of the TVA, is unfinished business because the railroad and power lobbies joined with a pork-barrel bloc of Congressmen who prefer to authorize projects one by one, so as to squeeze the most out of their vote-getting value. The bill for a CVA advanced as far as hearings in both Houses. The MVA and the St. Lawrence Seaway project, both urged by the Administration, made no progress at all.

Completion of these projects is especially important now as a means of helping to relieve the basic energy shortage that is retarding the development of new industries, particularly in the Western areas. The Bonneville Power Authority turned down power applications from 26 industries in the last year because each would require more than 500 k.w. for its operations.

Housing

MILLIONS OF AMERICAN FAMILIES are without adequate housing because they are too poor to afford private housing and not poor enough to qualify for public housing. Representative Hugh Mitchell (D, Wash.) introduced the Administration's answer to this problem, a bill providing for direct federal loans at

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

2.5-percent interest, amortized over the life of the house, and similar direct aid to non-profit or coöperative housing projects. The House approved an only slightly weakened version of the Mitchell bill, but the Senate set it aside in favor of an extension of the present inadequate federal home-loan-insurance program.

Social Security

LAST SESSION, the House partially approved President Truman's plan for broadening the social-security program. He had asked that 20 million more Americans be made eligible for old-age insurance and that benefits to the 2.6 million now receiving the insurance be increased by 70 to 80 percent. The House left out farmers and farm workers but agreed to raise the minimum monthly payment from $10 to $25, the maximum from $85 to $150. The social-security tax on both employers and employees will be increased to a peak of 3.5 percent and collected on the first $3,600 instead of the first $3,000 of salary, as at present.

Southern Democrats stood almost solidly with the Administration in the House vote to gain these sectional benefits it grants the South. They will have the power in the Senate next session to determine how much social security the country shall have.

Health

IN CONCERN for the nation's health, the Fair Deal has gone far beyond the Roosevelt era. The President has repeatedly taken his stand for the National Health Insurance Act, which two lobbies of doctors and drug companies are spending a million dollars this year to defeat. His plan for a Public Welfare Department was rejected by Congress largely because Truman's candidate for the new cabinet post would not retreat from his support for the program. The drive to make medical-care facilities available to 85 percent of the American people through a special $6 billion fund financed by payroll taxes and federal funds ranks high on the Administration's election-year agenda next session.

Federal Aid to Education

FOUR MILLION American children had no schools to go to this year.

For 40 years federal aid to education has been recognized as necessary to provide a minimum standard of decent education. It has been deadlocked on the issue of whether public aid should be made available to private schools.

Congress supports federal aid for textbooks, school lunches and health services on the grounds that this is essentially aid for the children and the school is supplying the administrative agency. But aid for transportation is looked on as aid to the schools.

This year the Senate, by a vote of 58 to 15, passed a bill granting federal aid to schools, including aid for transportation. It left the issue of private schools up to the states.

In the House a strong group of Southerners supported the Barden bill limiting public aid to public schools, while an equally powerful Catholic bloc insisted that Congress grant funds for parochial schools, or no funds at all. This position was constitutionally impossible since the majority of the 48 states are forbidden by their state constitutions to support parochial schools. This group was not strong enough to pass its own bill, but it did bury all other measures for federal aid in the House.

Human Rights

IN TWO OTHER important fields violent emotion and personal caprice block the way. Log-rolling between Southern Democrats bent on preventing passage of civil-rights legislation and certain Republicans determined to kill a bill liberalizing the Displaced Persons Act, passed last year, succeeded in defeating the Administration in both cases.

The DP bill sought by President Truman would have increased the number of displaced persons eligible for admission to the US from 205,000 in two years to 339,000 in three years, and would have repealed certain discriminatory provisions of the present law as promised in the campaign platforms of both parties, requiring that 30 percent of the DPs admitted should be farmers and 40 percent should be Balts. Plagued by absentee Democrats in the last days of the session, Southern opposition, and a Republican filibuster, the Administration finally gave up the fight until the second session.

Republicans cynically betrayed their campaign promise to support repeal of the poll tax, passage of anti-lynch and FEPC legislation, and connived with Dixiecrat leaders in the Senate to bring off the successful filibuster that got the 81st Congress off to such a poor start in the Upper House. Indecision and absence

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of courage on the Administration side assured victory for that coalition. For political as well as human reasons, the White House will be concerned to prevent a repetition of this experience in the next session. The enthusiastic support of Negroes and other minorities will be needed in next year's elections. A truly wholehearted effort to push a major part of the proposed civil-rights legislation through the Senate is the kind of campaigning that would count with those groups. That effort will be judged by what is done about changing the closure laws of the Senate to provide for majority rule and by the way in which the present rules of the Senate are used to assure the fullest practice of democracy in its proceedings.

VI. THE FUTURE OF THE FAIR DEAL

IN THE 81ST CONGRESS the Administration took the offensive for the welfare state. The Republicans once again left a negative record of opposition to all forward-looking domestic legislation.

The American people believe that security can be gained for all citizens in our democracy without losing our freedom. For this reason the underlying position of the Administration is strong. And yet, as a minority government with a majority mandate, it holds responsibility without power. It cannot fulfill its pledges or govern effectively. It constantly faces failure and loss of support.

The American people moved forward in November, 1948. They have moved farther forward since then. The 81st Congress is the best since 1937. But only the addition of a dozen liberal Senators and 30 to 40 Representatives will give to liberalism the majority in Congress that it holds in the country.

In 1950, with the year's urgent legislative tasks, the problem is to do the best with what we have.

One way is for voters to insist that being in Congress is a full-time job. In 1949 the Fair Deal limped along on three cylinders while the coalition ran on four because many of its members, from New York in particular, still look on their work as a three-day-a-week job.

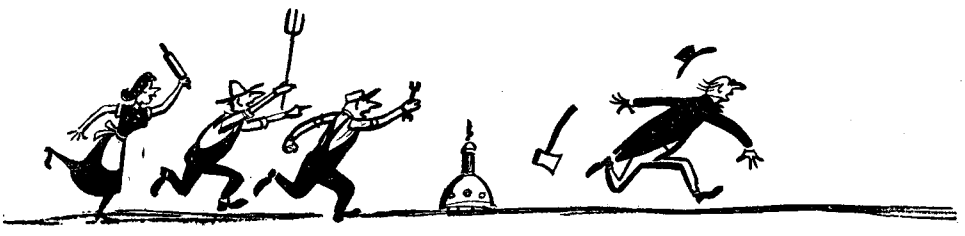
A second much needed improvement is in party leadership and discipline. Rightly, Senator Hubert Humphrey (D, Minn.) maintains that "the control of legislative action is scattered and splintered so that effective party leadership is almost impossible to achieve." Rightly, he calls for mid-term party conventions and responsible and active national party leadership. Rightly, he recommends revival of the party caucus to enforce discipline in Congress; creation of a Joint Congressional Policy Committee to plan strategy, and selection of committee chairmen by democratic procedures instead of by the outworn seniority rule.

Nineteen-fifty is also the year when the 82nd Congress will be chosen. In 1950, and beyond, two tasks stand out in the job of continuous political organization and education that majority liberalism requires.

First is the extension of the franchise in the South. The Southern delegation was greatly improved in the 81st Congress. For example, while one Southerner in ten voted against the Taft-Hartley Act in the 80th Congress, one in three voted against it in the 81st. Together with the West, the South is advancing faster than any other section of America. And yet, as long as only 151,000 citizens vote in Mississippi, while in Minnesota, with a comparable population, 1,220,000 vote, Mississippi, like other Southern states, cannot help to lead America forward.

The second major task of liberalism is to elect more non-Southern Democrats to Congress, since they are the one group with a record of proved liberalism. The main area where gains are possible is, of course, the Middle West. Its Republican representatives are far more than the agents of industrial pressure groups; they voice the convictions of most Midwestern farmers today. These farmers may desert the cause of reaction when it threatens them *as farmers*. But too many still oppose the non-farm objectives of the Fair Deal, which are vital to the general welfare of farmers *as citizens*.

The Brannan plan, which ties farm prosperity directly to full employment, is on the way to creating a farmer-labor coalition. The Democratic Party, which stands for an expanding economy, is on its way to becoming a farmer-labor party. When workers and farmers stand together for the general welfare, the future of American democracy is assured.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS IN REVIEW

A NEW ANATOMY OF PREJUDICE

by R. A. Schermerhorn

AMONG THE NEW volumes on minorities in the US, that of Arnold and Caroline Rose stands out as a brief but well-organized introduction to the whole vexed question. The authors of *America Divided* have chosen to treat their subject topically and their book falls naturally into three main divisions. The first (chapters one to six) is a running summary of the position of minorities vis-à-vis the dominant group in economic life, in law, political and "social" affairs. Part Two examines the realities of minority-group existence (chapters seven and eight). In conclusion, the authors present an analysis (chapters nine to eleven) of group differences, the psychology of prejudice and an appraisal of contemporary trends in intergroup relations as viewed by the social scientist. The book is short and selective—a triumph of condensation and of clarity.

AMERICA DIVIDED: MINORITY GROUP RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, by Arnold and Caroline Rose (Alfred A. Knopf; $3).

DANGER IN DISCORD, by Oscar and Mary F. Handlin (Freedom Pamphlet, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; 20 cents).

For many Americans the historical account of variations in prejudice and discrimination will prove most instructive. The authors show that the early position of Negroes as indentured servants and occasional slaves did not give rise to rigid segregation or the doctrine of "permanent inferiority" until the cotton gin made racism a necessary prop to a more successful slave economy. In the case of European immigrants, they point out that hostility toward the latest arrivals was the common pattern, but that with the exception of the Jews, the descendants of these immigrants will find less and less opposition until the pattern dies out in another generation or two.

As for the Jews themselves, it is asserted that their early arrival in the colonies was attended by greater discrimination than other groups suffered (quite different from the Handlins' picture of early tolerance) but that they gradually assumed a more normal position in American life until the greater influx of Jewish immigrants after the 1880's; with a few minor exceptions, they show that open expression of anti-Semitism did not arise until around 1910. Prejudice against Chinese had its rise and fall on the West Coast, while that directed against Japanese reached its climax during World War II.

It thus becomes clear that hostility against minority groups is a variable factor, dependent on diverse historical conditions. And its reduction is subject to the same vacillations: "the removal of intergroup hatred from a population is like the removal of a neurosis from an individual. There are resistances and reversions—the patient tries to hold on to his disease."

In spite of their recognition of plural trends in intergroup relations, the authors sometimes generalize prematurely. For example, "There is no tendency for minority people to die out or to disappear through absorption. . . . If minority problems are to disappear, it is the problem—in the minds of the majority—rather than the minority itself that must disappear." Here the writers forget their own statement predicting that the minorities from Southeastern Europe will be spared further discrimination in another two generations.

If this means anything at all, it means that such minorities will become absorbed and assimilated, though this is not made explicit. Studies of these nationality groups show that there *is* a tendency for them to "disappear through absorption." The Roses omit the term assimilation entirely from their book. However, they err in the right direction because the earlier writers often took this experience of the Slavic, Italian and Balkan groups as *normative*, which it is not. The tacit value premise in favor of complete assimilation needs to be challenged for the cultural imperialism it really is.

At the outset of *America Divided* a clear contrast appears between the "older" methods of investigating minority groups and the "new approach" which considers the subject in the context of social problems in general. In the "older" approach, the authors tell us, minorities were studied as exotic people like those examined by the anthropologists. Is this entirely true? Was not the chief aim of anthropology to give an understanding of other cultures so that they no longer seemed exotic or mysterious? If the "new" approach were to take over the field, what would be left except a study of the "mind of the majority," since the problem is primarily in that locus?

Naturally, the Roses do not press the issue this far, but center attention on the interaction or relations between groups. In their actual treatment of "group identification and morale" they are better than their own doctrine, for they present many forceful portrayals of varied responses to prejudice. By picturing the life patterns of minorities primarily as a response to hostility, however, they give a flat, one-dimensional account of minority communities, leaving out all cultural modes of behavior that may have been built up before the group became a minority in America. The fact that endogamy is enforced by many minority members even when the community is no longer hostile to intermarriage is a case in point. Minority issues abstracted

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from such cultural and historical backgrounds leave people in the category of victims rather than human beings with unique modes of self-expression.

The pamphlet by the two Handlins is perhaps the briefest and most accurate short account of anti-Semitism and its growth in the US. In spite of its brevity, it is more reliable than the longer, but one-sided, work by Carey McWilliams, *Mask for Privilege.* It does not overemphasize the economic roots of anti-Jewish prejudice, but with the historian's fine balance shows how it shared the early stereotypes of foreigners, was subtly merged with the developing racism of the South, joined by the later hostility to the new immigration, the many ideological currents from Renan, Gobineau, Chamberlain, Alfred Schultz, Madison Grant, Lothrop Stoddard and some of the early sociological writers, the infamies of the Protocols, Ku Kluxism, the anxieties of the depression, and finally the Nazi penetration. It is a measure of the skill displayed by the Handlins that although they give each of these its proper share of responsibility and depict the continuing accumulative force of anti-Semitism in America, they avoid shrillness or insistence. The result is that they encourage greater thoughtfulness about the whole issue.

There was a time, more than a century ago, the authors tell us, when America boasted, "We know, properly speaking, no strangers. This is every person's country." Then they query: do we have enough faith in America to make that assertion again today? It is one which we all must answer.

R. A. Schermerhorn, an associate professor of Sociology at the Cleveland College of Western Reserve University, is the author of the recent These Our People: Minorities in American Culture *(D. C. Heath).*

BACK TO METTERNICH

CONSERVATISM REVISITED, by Peter Viereck (Scribner; $2.50).

IN THIS PUNGENT, witty and chaotic little book, Peter Viereck suggests that established laws, traditions and institutions are good and useful things, and that the cost of revolutionary change is greater than its benefits. He also proposes a new ideological Hero for the Times, to replace the somewhat chipped figure of Lenin: namely, Prince Metternich. Ten years ago, in advanced intellectual circles, these propositions would have been considered blasphemous; today, they will probably be viewed merely as disreputable. This shows that even intellectuals learn from experience.

"What will our friend, Metternich, say of this great triumph?" asked the Russian Foreign Minister, Nesselrode (of pudding fame), after his navy had treacherously surprised and defeated the Turkish fleet at Navarino in 1827. "He will repeat his old, tiresome principles; he will talk of right. *Vive la force!* It is might which rules the world nowadays." On which Metternich commented: "This is how Carnot and Danton [read: Lenin and Hitler] thought and spoke. They were signally overthrown, however, by the same old and tiresome principles."

The anecdote sums up Metternich as presented by Viereck: a principled believer in Law and Order, who chose for his coat of arms the motto: *"Kraft im Recht"* ("Strength through Law") and whose instrument of policy was diplomacy rather than force. ("Is there anything in the world today," he contentedly remarked at the Congress of Laibach, "which can take the place of inks, pens, a conference table with its green cover, and a few greater or smaller bunglers?") To those of us who in the thirties were uplifted by Marx's romantic visions, this is pretty small beer. But it has its points. For, as Viereck copiously shows, Metternich took his Law and Order seriously, upholding it not only against the barricades of revolution but also, as the story just quoted shows, against the bayonets of reaction. If the Carbonari appalled him, so did the police state of Czar Nicholas.

It is because of this moderation, this respect for established forms and objective principles, that Viereck presents Metternich as the antithesis of the dynamic, romantically lawless and unlimited kind of politics which has produced the German and Russian totalitarianisms. In this I think he is right. I also agree that there are real advantages, from the standpoint of human freedom and dignity, in laws that are definite and that limit clearly the scope of action of *everybody,* those in power as well as those not in power. Perhaps the most sinister aspect of Stalin's regime is the vagueness and subjectivity of its legal system, which gives the ruling bureaucracy unlimited freedom of action while it renders the underlying population defenseless against arbitrary arrest and punishment—for who is not, somehow, sometime, an "enemy of the people"? Compare, for example, the American Constitution, which is also pretty small beer—narrow, prosaic, businesslike—with the rhetorical organ-tones of its Soviet counterpart: the one is admirably definite about what rights and privileges the citizen has and how he can take steps to protect them; the other is exalted, passionate, inspiring, but it never gets down to business.

Thus, in his main contention—his preference for Metternichian conservatism to the revolutionary messianism of our age—Viereck is both correct and acute. This acumen oddly fails him, however, when it comes to the liberal-progressive ideology of our time. He demonstrates, for example, the moral superiority of Metternich's settlement at the Congress of Vienna to the modern settlements of Yalta and Potsdam; he applauds Czar Alexander for proclaiming that the Allies had made war upon the French dictator and not upon the French people; and he quotes approvingly Castlereagh's comment on the unwisdom of ruinous peace terms. Yet he fails to note that it was the liberal, Roosevelt, who insisted on unconditional surrender over the objections of the conservative, Churchill. And that it was the liberal, Morgenthau—backed by Roosevelt—who almost succeeded in imposing his foolish and vindictive plan on the defeated Germans, while the chief advocates of more generous terms were conservatives like Hoover and Taft. These omissions are striking, since the conservatives here were re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

acting in truly Metternichian style: they were cautious, moderate, realistic because they were not infected with that messianic intoxication which too often caused Roosevelt and other liberal politicians to think of their cause as all-white and their opponents as all-black, and hence to push things to destructive extremes. In an age where technology is as dynamic and destructive as it is today, there is much virtue in one who simply *conserves*, who tries to slow down the machinery a bit.

The reason Viereck fails to make this central point, I think, is that he himself agrees more with Roosevelt than with Hoover as to the nature of the last war and of the German people. Indeed, he labels that convulsion part of "the never-ending war for freedom," a phrase which sounds more like Henry Wallace than like Prince Metternich. And the reason, or at least a reason, he so views the war is that there is a good deal of sheepish liberalism beneath his conservative wolfskin.

The defect of Viereck's book, curiously enough, is that it is not deeply conservative enough. Its author is so angry at the Nazis and the Communists—that his anger is justified is another point—that he forgets his general conservative principles and tries to conciliate, as allies, the liberals. Yet clearly modern liberalism has something in common with messianic totalitarianism—*vide* the long time it took American liberals to lose their illusions about Soviet Russia—and just as clearly has little in common with Metternichian conservatism.

Viereck's prose style is also indicative. Far from having what he himself lists as "the conservative principles *par excellence*," namely: "proportion and measure . . . self-restraint . . . classical balance"—it is distinguished by precisely the opposite qualities, namely: intemperateness, emotionalism and lack of proportion. Often inspired in witticism and brief insight, he seems incapable of any sustained development of his ideas. As for the book's general structure, let us say that it resembles less the Parthenon than a handful of marbles.

But however wolfish a conservative or sheepish a liberal Viereck may be, he has written a useful and clever book which is both readable and worth reading. DWIGHT MACDONALD

Dwight MacDonald is a former editor of Fortune, Partisan Review, and Politics, which has just suspended publication.

THE ESSENTIAL AMORIST

JOHN RUSKIN: THE PORTRAIT OF A PROPHET, by Peter Quennell (The Viking Press; $3.75).

TO THE PRESENT GENERATION, John Ruskin—when he is remembered—is thought of as a minor influence on Marcel Proust. It's about time, however, that those of us who have made cracks about "eminent" Victorians and Victorians in general grew up. Lionel Trilling has successfully reëstablished the somewhat faded reputation of Matthew Arnold, and Siegfried Sassoon has done a similar task for the less reputable but equally tragic George Meredith. Tennyson, with the imprimatur of T. S. Eliot, is secure. Browning is history. Carlyle remains in limbo, but Peter Quennell's *John Ruskin: The Portrait of a Prophet* should restore one of the last and most important Victorians to his rightful place in literature and history.

A deeper and more perceptive book than Quennell's, but admittedly incomplete, R. H. Wilenski's *John Ruskin*, published in England in 1933, brought out the fact that Ruskin was mad, in the original sense of the word. That madness, which finally destroyed his life and his writing, was the result of a complicated and unhappy family situation which he never overcame. Parental "love" destroyed whatever chance he might have had for a normal life. His first and deepest love was wrecked by a combination of family and religion. The fact that he was impotent (as now seems very probable) is important, but any qualified practitioner today would point out that the impotence too was the result of a nosey and noisome family. To the end of his life Ruskin was hounded by his desire for women, and there are few passages in literature more touching than his remark to a neighborhood friend about a young girl with whom he was hopelessly in love: "I wanted my Rosie *here*. In heaven I mean to go and talk to Pythagorus and Socrates and Valerius Publicola."

But the tragedy of the man's life is of less importance than the greatness of his work; what Ruskin had to say is so hurtingly true of our present malaise that we can no longer dismiss him as a gray eminence. He is what Dostoevsky would call "a grand fool." Even in the period of madness in which he wrote *Praeterita*, which for all its incompleteness is one of the great autobiographies in the language, the sense of space, boldness and courage stands out.

Ruskin, the son of a wealthy wine merchant, took upon himself the whole history of Italian art. In varying degrees, he chose to describe the topography of Europe. Other grand tours such as Stevenson's *Travels with a Donkey*, Borrow's *The Bible in Spain* and Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* are pure pumpkins beside Ruskin's love affair with the continent of Europe.

It was a happy choice for Quennell, who has been largely involved in expending his talent on Byron, Gibbon and Queen Caroline, to settle down to the tough task of handling Ruskin's personality and his work. Morris was perhaps a more compulsive influence than Ruskin, but his sanity was a deterrent to the kind of corrosive criticism of the ugliness of life that Ruskin employed in his now almost unreadable books and pamphlets. The tough-minded German aristocrat, Friedrich Engels, kept his temper and sanity in his classic description of *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*, and even Marx, less phlegmatic than Engels, did not blow his top in describing the harrowing "working day" in the first volume of *Das Kapital*.

But despite Ruskin's mental disorders and lapses of logic, it is difficult to think of any critic of the uglier stages of capitalism who has made more sense than this wealthy aristocrat who finally drove himself mad with

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thinking too deeply of the problems. There is probably no one now writing who could have handled the man and the subject with the wit, grace and savor that Quennell has brought to them. Even if his book had no further value than to remind us again of the import of one of the more than million sentences that Ruskin wrote in his long and trying life, we could be thankful: "No wreck is so frequent, no waste so wild, as the wreck and waste of the minds of men devoted to the arts." GEORGE MAYBERRY

George Mayberry has recently edited A Little Treasury of American Prose, *published by Charles Scribner's Sons.*

BRIEF COMMENT

All Hope Abandon, by Irene Odoevzev (Pantheon Books, Inc.; $3).

The publishers describe this as a book about intellectuals in the Soviet Union, written from first-hand experience by a former member of that group. That is misleading; the book is not such a general account, but the personal story of a writer; his wife, a famous ballerina; and his boyhood friend, a revolutionary, party member and marshal in the Red Army. After an officially brilliant career, the writer is inexplicably disgraced, and the real subject of the story is the subsequent distortion of human relationships (among the three) in an atmosphere of mystery and fear.

"Ignorance enveloped the Soviet Union as the atmosphere envelops the terrestrial globe." That ignorance is so successfully the atmosphere of the story that its events seem to take place in total darkness; the individual characters are lost in tortured (near-insane) self-examination; and all that remains is their constant terror of the unknown, which is finally relieved only by the certainty of despair.

See If He Wins, by Richard Spong (William Sloane Associates; $3).

See If He Wins is a competent, often graphic, first novel about an American soldier in Paris (1944) who first misses, then deserts, his battalion. In this fugitive state, he falls in with a group of black-market operators and is dragged, in seeming helplessness, to disaster.

The story is good in detail, but weak in structure, and too ambitious. It is interrupted by frequent flashbacks to the soldier's early cilivian life in an attempt to demonstrate how he got that way. But this turns out to be wasted effort, since the moral amounts only to the shrugging decision that "it could happen . . . to anybody."

The Big Cage, by Robert Lowry (Doubleday; $3).

Richard Black says: "When I get big I'm going to write stories," and in this first-person account of how he gets big, he reiterates that promise. This portrait of the American artist as a young man in the Middle West includes most of the elements popularly supposed indigenous: "my mom," public school, precocious sex, public library, one year in college, cross-country hitch-hiking, and New York. And inevitably the monotonous catalogue of awakening appetites and curiosities. "I love life indiscriminately, without question, forever. . . ." And, "I want to know everything, see everything, feel everything." (Sample: "Why do dogs have tails on their rear instead of on their front?")

Robert Lowry has written much better things than this book, which really isn't "written" at all. It is less a novel than the raw material for one. J. F.

MUSIC: New England Renaissance

IN THE LAST WEEK of October, more than three thousand adult citizens of Worcester, Massachusetts, and its environs met five times in the handsome Memorial Auditorium for the evening concerts of the Worcester Music Festival; and on Saturday morning a similar number of children, along with a scattering of restraining parents and teachers, attended a young people's concert. This was the ninetieth Worcester Festival.

Although the Worcester County Musical Association calls its week of music the "oldest annual festival" in the country, I know of no other—biennial, quadrennial or quinquennial—with so long and unbroken history. And certainly no other is more loyally and dependably supported by its constituency (the population of Worcester is less than 200,000). The climactic Artist Night (centering this year upon the first Worcester appearance in eleven years of the Metropolitan's gracious Brazilian soprano, Bidú Sayão) is quite as dressy an affair as the opening of the opera season in New York; yet this concert and all the rest were genuinely democratic, drawing a considerable share of their audience from rural communities and from industrial workers who found it a real sacrifice to buy their tickets this fall, in the face of heavy layoffs caused by the steel strike.

The attractions of the festival were threefold—the Philadelphia Orchestra (a fixture in Worcester since 1942), conducted by Eugene Ormandy and his associate conductor, Alexander Hilsberg; the 350-voice chorus of Worcester singers, directed for the first time this year by Boris Goldovsky; and a batch of well-known soloists. The programs were something of a hodgepodge, designed to please a variety of tastes without seriously offending a single patron. The most unorthodox items were Paul Creston's Second Symphony and the Khachaturian Piano Concerto (played by its most tireless exponent, William Kapell), neither of which poses serious problems to listeners who are able to absorb the music of Rachmaninov. Otherwise, festival patrons heard Miss Sayão and James Melton sing a variety of popular arias and Joseph Battista play the Liszt E flat Concerto. Ormandy contributed Beethoven's Seventh Symphony, Brahms's Second, and Ravel's "La Valse." The one program that was not altogether chaotic was devoted entirely to Verdi's "Manzoni Requiem," sung in memory of the former music director of the festival, Walter Howe, who died last winter.

Faced with the competition of other large-scale concert series in Worcester—which did not exist in the first 75 years of the festival's history—and the proximity of Boston, with its wide array of musical events, the future of the Worcester Festival would be dubious if the association were to continue the opportunist policy of program-building exemplified in this year's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lists. But a revolution is taking place behind the scenes. Goldovsky, a musical idea-man of the first order, has been appointed musical director, and the officers of the association are pricking up their ears at his long-range plans to make the Worcester Festival once again, as it was until a generation ago, a leader rather than a laggard among musical institutions.

He talks of presenting the great monuments of choral music, old and new; of giving operas, using the modern conceptions of staging he has already demonstrated in his productions at Tanglewood and in Boston; of stimulating the appreciation of contemporary music, and of commissioning new works; of eliminating potboilers and giving the programs cohesion and imagination. In these plans he has the whole-souled support of both the board of directors and Ormandy. The Worcester Festival will be worth watching over the next five years.

The rebirth of the Worcester Festival is a symptom of the musical renaissance that seems to be taking place throughout New England. In Boston, Goldovsky's New England Opera Company, with its up-to-date and inviting Mozart performances, was the first institution to challenge the diehard musical traditions of Back Bay. This fall the staid Boston Symphony Orchestra is experiencing growing pains. The Koussevitzky era is ended, after a quarter of a century, and the new conductor, Charles Münch, is making both the orchestra and the Symphony Hall audience sit up and take notice. The subscribers are learning that Koussevitzky's stately, aristocratic musical world is not the only one there is, and they are excited by the dynamic extroversion of Münch, who starts conducting the orchestra almost before he has reached the podium. The players have fallen in love with him, for he makes them happy and relaxed instead of frightened and tense.

Hartford has reëstablished its symphony orchestra after a lapse of several years, and there is serious talk of reinstating the Connecticut Opera Company, which used to make a successful circuit of five cities, with Hartford as its operating base. Under the direction of Moshe Paranov, the Julius Hartt School of Music is already showing Hartford some of the secrets of the theatre-wise, modern opera production to which Goldovsky is committed in Boston. And over to the east, in Providence, Francis Madeira has built the Rhode Island Philharmonic Orchestra, in three years, into an excellent ensemble that tours all over its little home state, helping to turn Woonsocket and Pawtucket into centers of symphonic culture.

CECIL SMITH

MOVIES: Imported Laughter

ADVANCE WORD from England was that in "Passport to Pimlico" we should find a new comic masterpiece, imaginative, satirical, infinitely droll. It turns out that the picture is genuinely amusing up to a point, but that the point falls short of the possibilities. It may be, also, that the picture does not look its best on foreign soil.

The notion that a small square in cockney London is discovered to belong to the Dukes of Burgundy and thus to be exempt from the dreary regulations of postwar England is potentially funny, but at bottom it is a rather mechanical device that soon loses savor unless ingenious variations are played upon it. But the producers of "Passport to Pimlico" have been content to work out their whimsy quite literally, relying on the shock value of off-ration nylons, insubordination in the police force and unlaced behavior in a neighborhood pub to put their customers in stitches. Unfortunately, such impiety is no more than momentarily funny away from its native setting, and an American audience

COLUMBIA PICTURES presents
ROBERT ROSSEN'S PRODUCTION
OF
ALL THE KING'S MEN
Based upon the Pulitzer Prize Novel "All The King's Men" by Robert Penn Warren
with
Broderick CRAWFORD • Joanne DRU • John IRELAND • John DEREK
Mercedes McCAMBRIDGE
Written and Directed by ROBERT ROSSEN
Victoria
BROADWAY & 46th STREET
LATE SHOWS NIGHTLY
CONTINUOUS PERFORMANCES

JOHN DEWEY SAYS:
"It would require less than the fingers of the two hands to enumerate those who, from Plato down, rank with HENRY GEORGE among the world's social philosophers. No man, no graduate of a higher educational institution, has a right to regard himself as an educated man in social thought unless he has some first-hand acquaintance with the theoretical contribution of this great American thinker."

A FREE COURSE
based on Henry George's classic PROGRESS AND POVERTY is offered as a public service by the HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE, chartered by the University of the State of New York.

By correspondence—
also classes in many cities.

WRITE TODAY FOR INFORMATION
MAIL COUPON

Henry George School of Social Science
50 East 69th Street,
New York 21, N. Y. (Tel. RH 4-8700)
Please send me further information about your free course in economics.

Name_____
(Please print)
Address_____
City_____ Zone_____ State_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THANKSGIVING AT
ARROWHEAD
FULL SOCIAL STAFF
LEO MILLER—ORCHESTRA
RESERVE NOW
ELLENVILLE, NEW YORK • • City Phone
Phone: Ellenville 502 GR 7-1267

BOOKS

ATHEIST BOOKS. 32-page catalogue free. Truth Seeker Co., 38 Park Row, N. Y. C. 8.

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES—Popular brands $1.51 per carton postpaid. West of Mississippi add 7¢ per carton. Min. order 3 cartons. Send check or money order. King Co., Elkton 2, Md.

GEIGER COUNTER

MAKE your next vacation trip profitable as well as enjoyable. Take a GEIGER COUNTER along. You may yet win that $10,000.00 for locating Uranium ores. $54.50 postpaid. Great Lakes Plastic Chemical Co., Leaf River 1, Illinois.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors; psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, or mail. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee $3.00.

LANGUAGES

LINGUAPHONE MAKES LANGUAGES EASY. At home learn to speak Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, French, German, Russian, by quick, easy Linguaphone Conversational method. Save time, work, money. Send for FREE book. Linguaphone Institute. 86 RCA Bldg., New York

LITERARY SERVICES

WRITERS—Efficient sales service for your books, short stories, articles, plays. Free booklet. Write today! Daniel S. Mead Literary Agency, 419 4th Ave., New York 16, N. Y

RECENT ISSUES OF
PEP
(Political and Economic Planning)
Imported from London
25¢ each postpaid

#293 The Assessment of Housing Needs
#294 Agricultural Executives
#295 The Motor Industry II
#296 Can Communities Be Planned?
#297 The University Student
#298 U. N. and the Agencies
#299 Housing Policy Abroad
#300 300th Broadsheet
#301 Population and the Press
#302 Machines for the Mines
#303 The Hospital Service—1

Send order and payment to
NEW REPUBLIC
40 East 49 St., New York 17, N. Y.

chuckles along indulgently while it waits with growing impatience for the laugh that strikes home.

The casting brings together some agreeable personalities—notably Stanley Holloway and Philip Stainton—but Basil Radford and Naunton Wayne (the cricketers of "The Lady Vanishes") and Margaret Rutherford (the medium of "Blithe Spirit"), who appear as a triple guarantee of automatic laughter, are given meager material for their clowning.

What strikes an American audience most forcefully in "Passport to Pimlico" is the extraordinary civil decency of the British public in moments of stress. No one was trying to make this point, and an English audience would not remark it as they enjoyed the film's gay flouting of Sir Stafford Cripps. It emerges out of the natural English reaction to crisis.

Some years ago, the Denis-Roosevelt expedition came back from Africa with "Dark Rapture." It was a fine picture, full of enthusiasm for the country and its people, a subtle record of adventure and a work of art. Now Armand Denis has been over the ground again (with Lewis Cotlow) and has made "Savage Splendor," a sequel or, more accurately, a rewrite in Technicolor.

Perhaps "Dark Rapture" was unsuccessful; Denis and Cotlow have studied to be popular. They display postcard scenery, animals in native habitat, strange people and exotic customs, hunters pitting themselves (and their high-powered trucks) against wild beasts. There are good moments in "Savage Splendor"—some of the tribesmen are magnificent, some of the dancing is breath-taking, some of the chases are thrilling. An episode of underwater photography in a pool full of hippopotamuses is moonlike and dangerous. But the picture is spoiled again and again by a carnival glibness, a jocose contempt for anything bizarre, a seeming assumption that African kings, pygmy hunters, herds of giraffe and jungle sunsets exist to be exploited by brash American cameras. The unceasing commentary is a burden to the ears, and Technicolor, a fuzzy medium at best, is no recompense for these shortcomings. "Dark Rapture" suggested new roads for the camera; "Savage Splendor" is back on the old Fitzgerald travelogue itinerary.

Paul Douglas won his movie reputation when he and Linda Darnell turned in a near-perfect satirical sketch as one of the couples in "Letter to Three Wives." As a reward he is given the lead in "Everybody Does It," a slapstick comedy in which he enjoys the superbly professional support of Miss Darnell and Celeste Holm. What everybody does in this case is sing grand opera, a not very original device for provoking belly-laughs, and I didn't think the three actors themselves were much taken with it.

Slapstick is not Douglas' field. It is true that he plays the lovable booby with the big feet and the slow take rather well, but there is always William Bendix for such roles. Douglas has irony and imagination, in addition to the build of a beer-truck-driver's assistant. It will be a loss if he is cut down to star size.

Though it cannot be proved, the chances are that Humphrey Bogart was trying to recapture in "Tokyo Joe" the sweet, evil mood—and the big box office—of "Casablanca." But pictures never succeed in borrowing nostalgia this way from their betters, and "Tokyo Joe" is another of those hopped-up "yellow-devil" melodramas whose name is legion and forgotten.

In this second production under his own auspices (the first was "Knock on Any Door") Bogart has subjected himself to more ruthless typing than he ever suffered on any of the million-dollar chain gangs. He has never been more arrogant, more nasal, more addicted to turned-up coat collars or more prone to let his lips blubber. He has, however, added judo to his mayhem repertory and has found in Florence Marly a stupendous new whistle girl.

ROBERT HATCH

Printed by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y. 173

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Coming November 28

FALL BOOK NUMBER

covering the current publishing season

An outstanding feature of the Fall season's new books is the number of authoritative works on the Soviet Union and Russian life and literature. Two weeks hence the New Republic will publish a review section, devoted to Fall books, but with special reference to the books on Russia. There will be included:

DR. ERNEST J. SIMMONS, Professor of Russian Literature, Russian Institute, Columbia University, who reviews the several recently published books on Russian literature and the Russian cultural heritage.

JOSEPH BARNES, author, correspondent and critic, who reviews the recent books on Russian political affairs and international policies.

DR. ABRAM BERGSON, of Columbia University, who reviews the recent authoritative studies in geography, agriculture and other aspects of Soviet internal economy.

PROF. E. H. CARR, the celebrated British author and authority on Russia, who reviews the year's most discussed biography
Stalin—A Political Biography
by Isaac Deutscher

RICHARD LAUTERBACH, author and correspondent, who reviews the highly controversial
Roosevelt and the Russians
by Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.

JULIAN TOWSTER, author of "Political Power in the USSR," who reviews
Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union
by Max Beloff

Among other reviews and critical articles, there will be:

MALCOLM COWLEY, on the works of younger American novelists.

DOUGLAS BUSH, Professor of English, Harvard, on current works of criticism, which include biographies of Milton and Jane Austen and "Shakespeare's World of Images."

To make sure of receiving this special number, one of the most exciting and valuable book sections ever published by the New Republic, you must subscribe NOW. A money-saving introductory order form is provided below.

INTRODUCTORY OFFER
(valid to new subscribers)

$2.00 FOR 24 WEEKS

NEW REPUBLIC, 40 East 49 Street, New York 17, N. Y.
For the enclosed $2.00 please enter my subscription for 24 weeks.

Name_____ Street_____

City_____ Zone____ State_____

11/14/49

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

September 20, 1949.

Coalitions Against the People

We who believe in the democratic way of life have found that democracy is never won in any single battle. It is never finally won nor finally lost. It is a way of life in which advances must be continually made, and ground lost. The success of democracy must be measured by the net gains made. By such measurement the people of America have gained ground since 1948, although the un-American Taft-Hartley Act is still on the statute books and much of the "Fair Deal" program has not yet been achieved.

In 1948, the people thought they had made a great advance. Coalitions against the people in the 81st Congress developed, with the result that the victory was not as complete as liberals had reason to believe last November.

Such a ruthless disregard of the peoples' rights by those who form and join coalitions against the people, must be met vigorously at the ballot box. In 1950, the American people must deal decisively with those representatives in Congress who run on liberal platforms and who, after elected, conspire with conservative and reactionary interests to see to it that the principles which the people voted for shall never be brought into reality. Those who have been guilty of this practice will be the first to taunt the people, as Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio has, with the claim that the 81st Congress is no more progressive than the 80th Congress, which proves, to them, that the people do not want what the people vote for.

Such demagoguery must be met head-on at the ballot box. Those elected representatives who seek political shelter in the failure of the 81st Congress to enact the "Fair Deal" program are quite like the son who murdered his mother and father and pleaded to the court for mercy on the grounds that he was an orphan. These "orphans" of coalitions against liberal, progressive government, against the people, must be retired from public life. That should be the main purpose of the 1950 general elections in America.

W. P. Kennedy, President,
Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen,
1528 Standard Building,
Cleveland 13, Ohio.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED